Six Martyrs of the Scottish Reformation

HADDINGTON CHURCH.

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Frontispiece.

Six Martyrs of the Scottish Reformation

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PREFATORY NOTE.

When we speak of the Scottish Reformation, we should never forget that the name is applicable to two great religious and national movements, separated from each other by the greater part of a century. The one, which reached its culmination in 1560, when the first Reformed Assembly met in Edinburgh, was the Reformation from Popery. The other, which found expression in the National Covenant of 1638, was the Reformation from Prelacy and all its works. The former was preceded by the martyrdom of such men as Patrick Hamilton, George Wishart, and Walter Myln. The latter was followed by the fifty-years' struggle of the Covenanters and the Revolution Settlement.

That a larger amount of attention may be called to this formative period of our history,

and to the important principles for which our fathers so strenuously contended and so joyfully suffered, has long been and still is my fervent desire. The Reformers and Covenanters doubtless had their faults; and from the position we now occupy, and in the fierce light which beats upon them, we may sometimes be tempted to blame them for their narrowness and bigotry. But in all revolutionary movements there are elements which we deplore, and those who have profited, as we have done, by the faithful contendings and sufferings of our martyrs should not be willing to cast the first stone at them, nor refuse to throw around them, when they need it most, that charity which covereth a multitude of sins.

"We write of days that will not come again,
Not in our time: the dream of Cameron
Is now a dream no longer; and the night
Is over, with its beacons in the dark.
Look you, who follow to the heritage
Of a fair day, that you be worthy those
Who conquered it for you against the world."

Some years after the issue of my *Illustrated Edition of the Scots Worthies*, it was suggested

from an influential quarter that, by sundry alterations and omissions, I might with advantage adapt that volume to a larger circle of readers, particularly among the young. To this proposal, for various reasons, I was unable at the time to agree. I had done my best, with my limited knowledge and experience, to present the public with a fair and attractive copy of a work which, whatever its faults, had earned for itself a prominent place in our popular literature. May I add, without presumption, that the very large sale it has had in this country and America is a sufficient reward for the labour of love spent on it during the opening years of my ministry in Helensburgh?

Now, with more time at my disposal, the friendly suggestion, previously rejected, has returned with irresistible force, and in the present volume I have made an attempt to comply with it. Taking the word "martyr" in its popular meaning, I have selected six of our Worthies, to whom this title is due, three from the First Reformation and three from the Second.

Four of the Illustrations are by Birket Foster, and are taken from Dr. Lorimer's *Scottish Reformation;* while the other six appeared originally in my *Edition of the Scots Worthies,* and are the property of Messrs. Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, Edinburgh, who have kindly allowed me to make use of them in the present volume.

It only remains for me now to acknowledge the debt I owe to many friends for counsel and encouragement, and in particular to Lord Guthrie, Mr. More of the Advocates' Library, and Rev. Dr. Whyte, Edinburgh; to Mr. Barrett of the Mitchell Library, and Rev. Dr. Wells, Glasgow; and to Rev. Duncan Turner, Lauder; and to express the hope that in our present-day struggles, in the cause of truth and righteousness, we may emulate the courage and patience of those who believed that it was always better to suffer than to sin, and that in all circumstances and at any sacrifice we ought to obey God rather than man.

W. H. C.

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PATRICK HAMILTON, the first preacher and martyr of the Scottish Reformation, was born in or about the year 1503, and was the son of Sir Patrick Hamilton of Kincavel and Stonehouse, and nephew of the Earl of Arran. His mother, Catherine Stewart, was closely related to the royal family, being a daughter of the Duke of Albany, and granddaughter of James II. Her half-brother, who was born and brought up in France, was one of the most polished and powerful noblemen of that period, and during the minority of James V. was appointed Regent of Scotland and heir presumptive to the throne. Patrick Hamilton was also closely connected with the Earl of Angus, who married Margaret Tudor, widow of James IV. and sister of Henry VIII. One of his cousins was Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, a candidate for the primacy when Beaton was appointed, and better known

as the translator of Virgil's *Æneid* into Scottish verse. Thus, in the realms both of literature and of politics, Patrick Hamilton could claim some of the most prominent and distinguished of his countrymen as his friends and relatives.

> "From noble sires he sprang, and blood of kings,
> And splendid shone in gifts beyond his peers;"

and yet, as the sequel shows, like many others both before and since, it was through much tribulation that he entered into the kingdom.

Of his early life nothing is known beyond the fact that, through family influence, he became, while still a youth, the nominal or titular Abbot of Ferne, in Ross-shire, probably with a view to provide him with the necessary funds to pursue his studies on the Continent. As in 1520 he took the degree of M.A. at the University of Paris, he must have left home at a very early age, as was, indeed, the case then with young Scotchmen who were disposed and able to take advantage of foreign study. From Paris he proceeded to the University of Louvaine, where Erasmus, whom he greatly admired as a scholar, and whose liberal spirit he had largely imbibed, lived and taught. Another

famous Scotsman, Alexander Alane, better known by his Latin name of Alesius, testifies to his character as a student, and particularly to his love of ancient lore. "He was a man of excellent learning and most acute mind. He was for banishing all sophistry from the schools and recalling philosophy to its sources, that is, to the original writings of Aristotle and Plato." Returning to Scotland, he entered the University of St. Andrews in the summer of 1523, and is referred to by George Buchanan as a young man of singular learning as well as of the highest talent.

From the testimony of Alesius it is evident that, in addition to his other gifts, he had attained considerable musical proficiency during his residence on the Continent. "Hamilton composed," says Alesius, "what the musicians call a Mass, arranged in parts for nine voices, in honour of the angels, intended for that office in the Missal which begins with the words 'Benedicant Dominum omnes angeli ejus.' This piece he procured to be sung in the Cathedral of St. Andrews, and he acted himself as Precentor of the choir." This incident throws some light on his personal tastes and accomplishments, as a lover and composer of choral music, but still more indicates

his religious position at the time. Obviously, whatever misgivings he may have had with regard to the doctrines of the Church, he had not yet ceased to conform to its public ritual, and must still have enjoyed the confidence of the Cathedral Canons when they were willing to avail themselves of his assistance in enriching their choral service. Singing, it is too often overlooked, formed one of the regular exercises of theological students both before and after the Reformation, and a good ear and good voice were recognised as God's good gifts to His children, to be used and cultivated in the worship of the sanctuary.

According to Frith, the English Reformer, he entered the priesthood before the canonical age of twenty-five, but such was his hatred of monkish hypocrisy that, on the testimony of Alesius, he refused to assume the monkish habit. Though Abbot of Ferne, he never went into residence with the monks of his own abbey. Nor would this be likely to create surprise or suspicion, as it was no unusual thing even for laymen to be appointed to the charge of religious houses.

An event, however, occurred at this stage of his life and experience which wholly changed his relations to his ecclesiastical

superiors, and made it desirable to seek an asylum elsewhere. In a Parliament held at Edinburgh, in the month of July, 1525, an Act was passed, of course under the influence of the bishops and clergy, declaring the opinions of Luther and his disciples heretical, and forbidding strangers to introduce Lutheran books into the kingdom, or to dispute or rehearse Luther's heretical opinions, "unless to the confusion thereof," under pain of forfeiting their property and exposing their persons to imprisonment. This Act was ordered to be published and proclaimed throughout the kingdom, at all ports and burghs of the same, "so that they may allege no ignorance thereof." Soon, however, another clause was introduced into the Act, rendering it applicable to "all others the king's lieges, assisters to such opinions."

Nor was it only Luther's writings which had found entrance into Scotland, rendering it necessary, in the opinion of the Church. to adopt such stringent measures regarding them. As early as 1525 and 1526, copies of Tyndale's New Testament found their way into several ports, the treasure being carefully concealed in bales of merchandise. From a letter of an agent of Cardinal

Wolsey, we learn that, while some were imported into Leith and Edinburgh, the greater number found their way into St. Andrews, the very citadel of clericalism!

Hamilton was not the man to conceal his new convictions, which probably had been formed during his residence on the Continent, but had recently greatly developed. In view of the flagrant disorders of the National Church which met his gaze on every side, and nowhere more conspicuously than in St. Andrews, it was impossible for him to refrain from urging, as opportunity offered, the necessity of reform. Soon the rumour of his heretical opinions reached the ears of Archbishop Beaton, who, in 1527, "made fruitful inquisition" during Lent, and found that he was already "infamed with heresy, disputing, holding, and maintaining divers heresies of Martin Luther and his followers repugnant to the faith." Having proceeded to "decern him" to be formally summoned and accused, the young Reformer, in accordance with our Lord's injunction to His disciples that when men persecuted them in one city they should flee into another, resolved to leave Scotland for a season. Accordingly, in company with three of his countrymen, he proceeded

first to Wittenberg in Germany, attracted thither, probably, by the hope of seeing and profiting by the instructions of such eminent men as Luther, Melancthon, and Bugenhagen, who were all professors at that University. After a short stay there, however, he removed to Marburg, where Philip of Hesse had recently founded a University on the banks of the Lahn, and where for several months he greatly enjoyed the prelections of Francis Lambert, a Frenchman by birth, a prominent Reformer, and a man of earnest, practical piety. Between these two—the French professor and his Scotch disciple—there were many features of resemblance, and soon the feeling of attachment became mutual. Hamilton adored Lambert, while Lambert cherished for his young disciple the warmest affection and esteem. "His learning," he tells us, "was of no common kind for his years, and his judgment in divine truth was eminently clear and solid. His object in visiting the University was to confirm himself more abundantly in the truth; and I can truly say that I have seldom met with any one who conversed on the Word of God with greater spirituality and earnestness of feeling."

The excellent custom which now prevails in Germany of having a "sprechstunde," when students are invited to visit the professor and to walk or talk with him on congenial subjects, seems to have existed even then, if we may judge from some additional words of Professor Lambert, when he says—"He was often in conversation with me on these subjects."

Tyndale, the translator of the English Bible, was there at the time, as also John Frith, his young friend and helper, both of whom were now busily employed in the translation of the Old Testament, and in the composition of several original works. It needs no great stretch of imagination to picture these three excellent men—all natives of Great Britain and destined to suffer martyrdom for the truth—in frequent consultation on some congenial theme, and thus helping unconsciously to prepare one another for the fiery trials and sufferings which awaited them. Tyndale was much older than the others, but Frith and Hamilton were much of the same age, and were naturally drawn to each other. It was at this time, and at Lambert's suggestion, that Hamilton published the theses, generally known as "Patrick's

Places," * which were originally published in Latin, but soon after translated and published by John Frith "for the profit of his own nation."

After a sojourn of six months in Germany, Patrick Hamilton returned to Scotland, resolved now, at whatever risk, to make known to his fellow-countrymen the truth as it is in Jesus. The first few months were spent at the family mansion of Kincavel, in the neighbourhood of Linlithgow, where, besides his elder brother, Sir James, and a sister named Catherine, others were savingly impressed by his preaching, among whom may probably be included a lady of noble rank but unknown name with whom at this time he was united in marriage. It was impossible, however, to conceal his evangelistic labours from his enemies, and soon they became known to Archbishop Beaton, who at the time was residing at Dumfermline, on the other side of the Frith. Not daring to proceed openly against him, Beaton sent him a message of apparently friendly character, proposing a conference at St. Andrews on such matters connected with the Church as might appear to stand in need of reform.

* See Appendix I.

Though suspecting the snare which had been laid for him, and warned to beware of it, he felt that it was his duty to comply with the request, knowing, like Paul, that bonds and imprisonment awaited him. The most that his family could persuade him to do for his safety was to arrange that he should not go alone, but that a party of friends and kinsmen should accompany him.

Arriving in St. Andrews about the middle of January, 1528, the conference proposed by the Archbishop took place, and continued for several days. Professing himself to be most friendly and conciliatory, the latter sought to disarm Hamilton and his friends of their fears and suspicions, and thus induce them to declare their opinions without reserve. Nor did Beaton miscalculate on the successful result of this crafty and Jesuitical policy. Hamilton, it is true, enjoyed many opportunities, both by means of public disputations and private interviews, of sowing seed from which a rich harvest was afterwards reaped. But the liberty of speech allowed him, and of which he took the fullest advantage, made it easy for his accusers to procure sufficient evidence to secure his condemnation, when the hour had struck which they considered most favourable.

Hamilton, it should be remembered, had influential friends, whose enmity it was no part of Beaton's policy unnecessarily to provoke. Either, therefore, they must be convinced by his own words and acts that he richly deserved the doom which awaited him, or an attempt must be made to get them out of the way and so prevent their interference with the due exercise of the law. According to Knox and Spottiswoode, the latter course was adopted in the case of the young King himself, who, it was feared, might have been favourable to Hamilton's release had he not been induced by the clergy to undertake a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Duthac, in Ross-shire. Whether there be truth in this suspicion or not, the fact remains that, at the time of Hamilton's death, he was far enough away to make any interference on his part impossible.

When the danger became imminent, and when Hamilton himself refused to escape, an attempt was actually made by his friends to release him. Foreseeing the violent issue of the proceedings which had now commenced, Sir James Hamilton, his brother, collected a strong force, and was only prevented by a long continued storm, from reaching St. Andrews in time. Another of

his friends, the laird of Airdrie, who had long enjoyed the personal acquaintance and esteem of the young Reformer, and also shared his opinions, proceeded to arm his tenants and retainers in the hope of effecting his forcible deliverance. Alarmed by such tidings as these, and fearing a rescue, Beaton issued an order for his immediate apprehension. Drawing a cordon around the house where Hamilton lodged, the captain of the castle demanded admission; whereupon, the Reformer, after counselling his friends to offer no resistance, declared his readiness to surrender, only asking as a favour that none who were with him might be molested. These, on the other hand, according to Alesius, refused to deliver him up until they had received an assurance from the captain that he would be restored without injury into their hands.

The last day of February had now arrived, and the Cathedral was filled at an early hour by an immense multitude of all classes. David Beaton, Abbot of Arbroath, nephew of the Archbishop, and afterwards known as Cardinal Beaton, was there, resolved that no force of argument employed in his defence should be able to turn aside the vengeance of the Church. So also was

Patrick Hepburn, the Prior of St. Andrews, beside many others like him, zealous for the law and the traditions of the elders, though caring little or nothing for the commonest maxims of religion and virtue. Hamilton, having been conducted from his prison to the church, and placed in a pulpit where he could be seen and heard by all, certain Articles, regarding which he had been previously interrogated by the Primate and his Council, were produced in evidence against him, together with the final, or official, judgment of the Theologians to whom these had been referred for consideration. These were now read aloud by Alexander Campbell, Prior of the Dominican monastery of St. Andrews, "a young man of good wit and learning," who, during the previous weeks, had frequently visited Hamilton, and professed to be much interested in his views. One by one, he charged the prisoner with holding the following objectionable opinions:—

(1) That sin remains in children even after baptism.

(2) That no man by his own power can do any good.

(3) That no man is without sin so long as he liveth.

(4) That every true Christian may know himself to be in a state of grace.

(5) That a man is not justified by works, but by faith alone.

(6) That good works make not a man good, yet that a good man doeth good works; further, that an ill man doth ill works, though the same ill works, truly repented of, make not an ill man.

(7) That faith, hope, and charity are so linked together that he who hath one hath all, and he that lacketh one lacketh all.

(8) That God is the cause of sin only in this sense, that He withdraweth His grace from man, and, grace being withdrawn, he cannot but sin.

(9) That penance cannot purchase the remission of sins.

(10) That auricular confession is not necessary to salvation.

(11) That there is no purgatory, and that the holy patriarchs were in heaven before Christ's passion.

(12) That the Pope is Antichrist, and that every priest hath as much power as he.

These Articles having been read aloud by Campbell, Hamilton, instead of disowning, defended and established them from Scripture, taking care to guard his statements

against the misapprehension and misinterpretation to which they were liable.

Having thus silenced his accuser, the latter, in obedience to instructions, proceeded to bring new charges against him and openly to denounce him as a heretic.

"Nay, brother," replied Hamilton, "you do not think me a heretic in your heart: in your conscience you know I am no heretic."

"Heretic," repeated Campbell, seeking to conceal the emotion which such an appeal called to his remembrance, "thou saidst it was lawful for all men to read the Word of God, and particularly the New Testament."

"I wot not," replied Hamilton, "if I said so; but I say now that it is lawful for all men who have souls to read the Word of God, and that they are able to understand the same; and in particular, the latter will and testament of Jesus Christ, whereby they may acknowledge their sins and repent of the same, and amend their lives by faith and repentance."

"Now further," continued Campbell, "thou sayest it is not lawful to worship images."

"I say no more," replied the Reformer, "than what God spake to Moses in the 20th chapter of Exodus, in the second command-

ment, 'Thou shalt not make unto Thee any graven image; thou shalt not bow down to it nor worship it.' And also David, in his psalms, curseth them who are the makers of images and the maintainers and worshippers of the same."

Then answered Campbell:

"Heretic, knowest thou not that images are the books of the common people, to put them in remembrance of the holy saints that wrought for their salvation."

"Brother," rejoined Hamilton, "it ought to be preaching of the Word of God that should put the people in remembrance of the blood of Christ and their salvation."

"Heretic, thou sayest it is but lost labour to pray to or call upon saints, and in particular on the Blessed Virgin Mary, or John, James, Peter, or Paul, as mediators between God and us."

"I say with Paul," answered Hamilton, "that there is no mediator between God and man but Christ Jesus, His Son, and whoever they be, who call or pray to any saint departed, spoil Him of His office."

"Heretic," said Campbell in conclusion, "thou sayest that all our labour is in vain when we sing psalms and masses for the souls that are in purgatory."

"Brother," exclaimed Hamilton, "I have never read in Scripture of such a place as purgatory, nor yet believe I that there is anything that can purge the souls of men but the blood of Jesus Christ, which cleanseth from all sin."

Thus, before many witnesses, was this noble youth enabled to witness a good confession, concealing nothing in his heart, yet speaking the truth in love, and continuing to the end to address his treacherous accuser as "brother." The latter, having finished his unholy task, turned to the tribunal and said, "My Lord Archbishop, you hear he denies the institutions of holy Kirk, and the authority of our holy Father the Pope. I need not accuse him any more."

Without further delay it was then unanimously resolved that he should be condemned as an obstinate heretic, deprived of all ecclesiastical dignities and offices, and delivered over to the secular power for punishment. This sentence was subscribed by the Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, the Bishops of Dunkeld, Brechin, and Dunblane, and many others, among whom we recognise the Abbot of Arbroath, who is generally believed to have been the chief mover in all the proceedings.

On the afternoon of the same day, for their business was such as required haste, he was hurried to the place of execution in front of the Old College, where a fire had been already prepared. Taking off his cloak and giving it to a servant who had been along with him, the martyr quietly said, "This stuff will not help me in the fire, yet will do thee some good. I have no more to leave thee but the example of my death, which I pray thee to keep in mind; for albeit the same be bitter and painful in man's judgment, yet it is the entrance to everlasting life, which none can inherit who deny Christ before this wicked generation." Having thus spoken, he commended his spirit into the hands of God, and being bound to the stake, a train of powder was laid, which, however, was not successful in kindling the fire, the flame scorching only one of his hands and his face. While more powder was being brought from the castle, he continued to speak to the people and was often interrupted by Friar Campbell, who kept calling upon him to repent and pray to the Virgin. At length, provoked by these interruptions, the martyr calmly replied, "Thou wicked man, thou knowest that I am not an heretic, and that it is the

truth of God for which I now suffer. So much didst thou confess unto me in private; and therefore, I summon thee to answer before the judgment-seat of Christ." By this time the fire was thoroughly kindled, and Hamilton yielded his soul to God, crying out, "How long, O Lord, shall darkness overwhelm this realm? How long wilt Thou suffer this tyranny of men? Lord Jesus, receive my spirit."

Thus died this noble martyr, on the last day of February, 1527, in the twenty-fourth year of his age. His death excited very considerable interest, and was overruled by God for good. As one has truly said, "The flames in which he expired were in the course of one generation to enlighten all Scotland, and to consume with avenging fury the Catholic superstition, the Papal power, and the Prelacy itself."

GEORGE WISHART.

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GEORGE WISHART.

The servant of James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, said to his master one day, "If you mean to burn any more heretics you had better do it in the cellars or dungeons, for the reek of Maister Patrick Hamilton has infected as many as it blew upon." In this remark there was more truth than the Archbishop was willing to recognise or acknowledge. Men of all classes began to ask why one so noble and good should have suffered martyrdom. Among the nobles there were not a few who either at that time or soon afterwards accepted the Reformed doctrine. When David Beaton succeeded his uncle in the Primacy, sterner measures began to be adopted, and though the King, James V., at first resented the attempt to get rid of all those noblemen who were friendly to the Reformation, a proscribed list of no

fewer than a hundred was actually presented to him by Beaton, and was found in his pocket after his death in 1542.

Nor were the ranks of the priesthood less affected by the new opinions which began to prevail. Within a few years of Hamilton's death, as many as nine Augustinian Canons and Dominican Friars were said to have embraced the Gospel, and endured for its sake exile or death. One of these was Alexander Alane, afterwards known by the Latin name Alesius or Wanderer, who had disputed with Patrick Hamilton during the few weeks which preceded his death, but was unable to resist the wisdom with which he spake, and finally, as a spectator of his death, became savingly impressed by the calmness and courage displayed by the martyr in the last awful moments of his life. Another was Alexander Seyton, son of Sir Alexander Seyton of Tullibody, and Confessor to the King. Obliged to flee for his life, he took refuge in England, and became chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, brother-in-law of Henry VIII. John M'Alpine, too, Prior of the Dominican Monastery in St. Andrews, was another of the first-fruits of that glorious harvest which sprang from the seed which Hamilton had

sown both in his life and by his death. Afterwards he rose to high distinction as a Reformer and Theologian on the Continent, and is better known to scholars under the name of Dr. Maccabæus. This, according to a custom then in vogue, he received while studying at Wittenberg, in company with Alesius, and enjoying the friendship of Luther and Melancthon.

Others, however, were not so fortunate in escaping with their lives, and, among the faithful who were called to seal their testimony with their blood, an honourable place must ever be assigned to the subject of this narrative.

George Wishart was the only son of James Wishart of Pitarrow, and Elizabeth Learmont, his second wife. Of the place and date of his birth no record remains, but we think we are justified in concluding that he was born at Pitarrow, the family seat, about fifteen miles from Montrose, in or about the year 1513. The Wisharts were an old and distinguished family, many of whom filled places of importance in the State. George's father was Justice Clerk and King's Advocate under James IV., and was also a member of the Council that assembled at Perth in November, 1513, to

meet the ambassadors from Louis the twelfth. His mother was descended from the Learmonts of Earlston, of which house Thomas the Rhymer was the most illustrious member. Her brother was James Learmont, Master of the Household in the reign of James V., and one of the Commissioners appointed to treat with Henry VIII. regarding the proposed marriage of Mary and Edward. He was also Provost of St. Andrews when Beaton was murdered.

Such being the position of his family, we may be sure that George Wishart enjoyed every advantage in his youth, though of his early life we have no particulars. Indeed, when we are first introduced to him he has already reached his twenty-fifth year, and, like many others, has had to flee for his life. Leaving Scotland to escape prosecution for heresy, he found his way first to England, where at Bristol we find him preaching. His visit to that city has occasioned a good deal of speculation, as in letters written at the time he is described as a "reader," and also as a "clerk," and the suggestion has been hazarded that he had entered the English Church, and been sent by Latimer, who was at that time Bishop of Worcester, to labour in that part of his diocese. Strange

to say, we also learn that, having been arrested by the Mayor of that city, he was sent to London to be tried by a court over which Cranmer presided, and was afterwards sentenced to "bere his faggot," which he did in St. Nicholas Church on Sunday, 13th July, and in Christ's Church on Sunday, 20th July, 1539. The probability is, from the nature of the charge made against him, that he had adopted, and was teaching erroneous views on the subject of the Atonement, and that no sooner was he persuaded of his departure from the truth than he submitted to the prescribed discipline, and retired to the Continent. Some years later, in 1543, we find him at Cambridge, apparently teaching at the University, and from one of his scholars, Emery Tylney, we have the following portrait of him.

"He was a man of a tall stature, black-haired, long-bearded, of a graceful appearance, eloquent, courteous, ready to teach, and desirous to learn. He ordinarily wore a French cap, a frieze gown, plain black hose, white bands and cuffs. He frequently gave away several parts of his apparel to the poor. In his diet he was very moderate, eating only twice a day, and fasting every fourth day. His lodgings, bedding, and

such other circumstances were correspondent to the things already mentioned."

Knox, who was on intimate terms with him during his latter days, and whose own spiritual life was largely influenced by his death, describes him as "a man of such graces as before were never heard within this realm;" and also as "most sharp of eye and judgment." We do not err, therefore, in concluding that he combined the *suaviter* and the *fortiter* in his character, and that strength and beauty were visible both in his words and actions.

An Act having been passed in March, 1543, providing that "all men and women should be free to read the Holy Scriptures in their own tongue, or in the English tongue, and that all Acts passed to the contrary should be abolished," Wishart deemed that the time had now come, when without danger he might return to his native land, and take his share in the work of Reformation.

Accordingly, in the summer of 1543, he left Cambridge and proceeded to London, where his uncle, Sir James Learmont of Balcomie and Dairsie, and the other Commissioners from Scotland, were now engaged in promoting a friendly alliance with England

and France, and making some necessary arrangements for the proposed marriage between Prince Edward and Mary, the infant daughter of James V. In company with the Commissioners, who thought they had now satisfactorily adjusted these affairs, Wishart returned to Scotland in the month of July, and no sooner found himself on Scottish soil than he hastened to Montrose, where he was received with open arms by his old friends and scholars. Here, in the Grammar School founded by Erskine of Dun, one of the most prominent leaders of the Reformation, and the first man to introduce the study of Greek to Scotland, Wishart had laboured assiduously and cheerfully, until forced to seek safety in flight. One in his position might break many of God's commandments and yet receive absolution from the Church, but to teach Greek, and especially the Greek New Testament, was an unpardonable offence. Hence, when this young man attained so much proficiency in this study as to become the assistant or successor of the accomplished Frenchman, whom the Laird of Dun and Provost of the town had brought across from France to commence the teaching of this subject in Montrose, he became an object of suspicion to the Church,

and particularly to David Beaton, Abbot of Arbroath. This clever, but cruel and unprincipled man, who had begun by being Rector of Campsie, and after spending five years as Resident for Scotland at the French Court, and receiving from his uncle, the Archbishop, the appointment to the high and remunerative position of Abbot, had recently been made a Cardinal by Pope Paul III., was notorious alike for his profligacy and for his bitter hostility to the new learning. It was he who was chiefly responsible for the martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton, and who, in 1538, while Wishart was patiently and lovingly instructing his pupils, endeavoured to extinguish the torch borne aloft by the young schoolmaster of Montrose. Whether, and to what extent, on his return from exile, he now resumed his scholastic labours, we cannot say; but this we know, that, without fear or hesitation, he at once assumed the office of an evangelist, and that his preaching, both in private and in public, was followed by the happiest results.

Before proceeding further, however, it is necessary to refer to a charge which has been brought against him, for the purpose of blackening the reputation of our Re-

former, and presenting him to us in the character of a political conspirator, and would-be assassin. From the *State Papers*, it appears that in May, 1544, "a Scottishman named Wysshart" brought letters to the Earl of Hertford, at Newcastle, and to Henry VIII., at Greenwich, proposing the assassination of the Cardinal, and requesting protection for the conspirators, should they succeed in their desperate enterprise. Moreover, it appears from the *Hamilton Papers* (quoted by Burton in his *History of Scotland*, vol. iii., p. 259), that the following message from the English Council was despatched to Hertford at Newcastle: "Your Lordship shall understand that Wishart, which came from Brunston, hath been with his Majesty . . . and hath received for answer touching the feat against the Cardinal, that in case the lords and gentlemen he named shall enterprise the same earnestly and do the best they can, to the uttermost of their powers, to bring the same to pass in deed—and therefore not being able to continue longer in Scotland shall be enforced to fly into this realm for refuge—his Highness will be contented to accept them, and relieve them as shall appertain."

To assume, however, that the man referred to in this evidence, and bearing the same name, was no other than our Reformer and martyr, is opposed (1) to the general tone and tenor of his character and teaching; (2) to the fact, as admitted by Tytler in his *History*, that "from the time of his arrival in the summer of 1643, for more than two years, Wishart appears to have remained in Scotland;" and (3) to the absence at his trial of any reference to this particular episode in his life. Moreover, it has been ascertained that, during the Reformation period, no fewer than three Scotsmen bearing this name have been discovered, any one of whom might, with much greater probability, have been implicated in the conspiracy to kill Beaton.

We may, therefore, dismiss from our thoughts any such charge against the fair fame of this young martyr, and continue to believe that the weapons of his warfare were not carnal but spiritual, and that, however great the provocation, he was willing to wait till God, in His own good time and way, should remove this hindrance to the spread of the Gospel. Some of his friends, it is well known, were animated by different thoughts and feelings, and after

his martyrdom, and when no other way of deliverance seemed open, did not hesitate to take the law into their own hands, and become the executioners of what they believed to be the just judgment of God. But Wishart was a man of different mould, and was the messenger of God for good, sent not to destroy men's lives, but to save them. Therefore, braving the wrath both of the Cardinal and of his creature, the Regent, who from being an ardent Reformer had recently become a keen Romanizer, he continued his work of preaching the Gospel, occasionally hiding for a season, and then, when the storm was past, reappearing and preaching with greater earnestness and success than before. Thus, after a particular outbreak of fury in Perth, during which four men were summarily condemned and hanged, while the wife of one of them, with an infant at her breast, was thrown into the Tay and drowned, the Cardinal and his retinue proceeded to Dundee in search of other victims. Finding "a godly, learned Black Friar (John Rogers, by name) who had faithfully preached Christ Jesus to the comfort of many in Angus and Mearns," they sent him under guard to St. Andrews, where he was

flung into the lowest and darkest dungeon of the Sea-tower, and secretly done to death, his body being afterwards thrown over the castle wall. But no sooner had they left the town, on their way northwards, in pursuit of prey, than Wishart and his friends entered it, and through the favour of Sir James Scrymgeour, the Provost, and other influential citizens, he was enabled to carry on his work without molestation, and to gather in a rich harvest. Here it is that we find him expounding the Epistle to the Romans to large and attentive audiences, and creating so much enthusiasm against the corruptions and abuses of the Church, that the people proceeded to destroy the monasteries, sacked the Abbey of Lindores, and "would have destroyed Aberbrothoc Kirk were it not for the Lord Ogilvie." Such at least is the statement of the *Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland*, page 29. Tidings of these things having reached the ears of those in authority, Wishart was commanded, in the Queen's and Governor's name, to take his departure, and "to trouble them no more with his preaching in that place." On hearing this, he kept silence for a little, and then, turning to the speaker with a sorrowful countenance,

he said: "God is my witness that I never minded your trouble but your comfort. Yea, your trouble is more grievous unto me than it is unto yourselves. But sure I am, to reject the Word of God and drive away His messengers is not the way to save you from trouble, but to bring you into it. When I am gone, God will send you messengers who will not be afraid either for burning or banishment. I have at the hazard of my life remained among you, preaching the word of salvation; and now, since you yourselves refuse me, I must leave my innocence to be declared by God. If it be long well with you, I am not led by the Spirit of truth; and if unexpected trouble come upon you, remember this is the cause, and turn to God in repentance, for He is merciful."

Having uttered these words, he came down from the pulpit; and, although urged by some noblemen to accompany them on their way to the north, he turned his face to the west, and for about a month laboured with much comfort and success in Ayr, Mauchline, Galston, and other neighbouring places.

While in Ayr crowds followed him, and many were savingly impressed by his preaching. Hearing of this, and at the instigation

of the Cardinal, Archbishop Dunbar of Glasgow visited the town, intending to arrest him. First he took possession of the church, and thus prevented him from preaching in it, as had been arranged. But to the Earl of Glencairn and other gentlemen, who had hurried to his assistance, and who offered to force an entrance to the church, Wishart remarked that the Bishop's sermon would not do much harm, and that if they pleased he would prefer to go to the market cross; which, accordingly, he did, preaching moreover with such success that several of his hearers, formerly enemies to the truth, were converted on the spot. According to Howie, during the time he was thus employed, the Archbishop was haranguing his friends and servants in the church, and, having no sermon to give them, he promised to be better provided on another occasion, and speedily left the town.

On the following Sabbath, a similar attempt was made to prevent him from preaching at Mauchline, the Sheriff of Ayr having, during the previous night, placed some soldiers in the church to prevent him from entering it. Again Wishart restrained his followers from using force, as they suggested, quietly saying: "Brethren, it is the

Word of peace which I preach unto you. The blood of no man shall be shed for it this day. Jesus Christ is as mighty in the fields as in the church; and He Himself, while He lived in the flesh, preached oftener in the desert and at the seaside than in the Temple." Thus calming the people, he led them to the edge of a muir on the south-west side of the town, and there, standing on a dyke, he continued speaking for more than three hours, God working wondrously by him. One of his converts that day was Laurence Rankin, the laird of Shield, a very profane person. To the astonishment of all present, he was deeply affected, and the whole of his subsequent life testified to the reality of his conversion.

While thus engaged in Kyle, once the stronghold of the Lollards, Wishart learned that the plague had broken out in Dundee soon after his departure, and that it continued to rage with great virulence, carrying off large numbers of people every day. This affected him so much that, casting fear aside, he resolved to return immediately to the former scene of his labours. On the day after his arrival, having caused intimation to be made that he would preach, he took his place at the top of the Eastgate,

the sick standing outside, where booths had been erected for them, while those not affected remained within the gate. The text he chose, and by which he so comforted the people that they entreated him to stay with them so long as the plague lasted, was certainly a most appropriate one. It was Psalm cvii. 20: "He sent His word and healed them and delivered them from their destructions." After this, both in preaching and in visiting, he continued to prosecute this Christ-like mission for a considerable time, exposing himself, not only to the danger of infection, but to other perils of which the following is an illustration. Once while preaching, a priest, who had been bribed by the Cardinal to assassinate him, posted himself at the foot of the stair, with a dagger in his hand, but concealed under his gown. On coming down the stair Wishart looked sternly at him, asking what he intended to do; and then, instantly laying hold of him, he wrenched the dagger from his hand, and thus saved his life. The priest, having openly confessed his design, and a tumult ensuing, the sick without the gate rushed in, crying to have the assassin delivered to them. But Wishart interposed, and defended him from their violence, telling them that

EASTGATE, DUNDEE.

Facing page 48.

he had done him no harm, and that such as injured the one would injure the other also. On another occasion, on a visit to Montrose, during which he administered the Sacrament of the Supper in both elements, and preached with much acceptance, a letter was delivered to him purporting to be from an intimate friend who was taken suddenly ill and wished to see him. Setting out on his journey at once, he had not gone more than a quarter of a mile when he stopped and said to those who accompanied him, "I am forbidden by God to go farther." And then, pointing with his finger to a rising ground, he added, "Will some of you be pleased to ride to yonder place and see what is there, for I apprehend there is a plot against my life." Saying this, he returned to the town, while those who went forward found about sixty horsemen lying in wait for him! The letter had been forged, and soon the whole plot came to light. Wishart, on hearing the result, remarked, "I know that I shall end my life by the hands of that wicked man (Cardinal Beaton), but it will not be after this manner."

On his way from Montrose to Edinburgh, where he expected to meet some friends from the west, he spent the first night at

Invergowrie, about two miles from Dundee, with James Watson, an earnest and faithful Christian. After midnight he was observed to rise and go into an adjacent garden, where he spent nearly an hour weeping and making supplication. On being urged by two friends, who had watched him, to tell them the cause of his distress, he said: "I will tell you. I assuredly know my travail is nearly over; therefore, pray to God for me that I may not shrink when the battle waxeth hottest." Hearing these words, they burst into tears, saying, that was but small comfort for them; whereupon he replied: "God will send you comfort after me. This realm shall be illuminated with the light of Christ's Gospel as clearly as any realm ever was since the days of the Apostles. The house of God shall be built in it; yea, whatever the enemies may devise to the contrary, it shall not lack the cope-stone thereof: neither shall this be long in doing, for there shall not many suffer after me. The glory of God shall appear, and truth shall once more triumph in despite of the devil. But alas! if the people become unthankful, the plagues and punishments which shall follow will be fearful and terrible."

Proceeding on his journey, he arrived at Leith on the 10th of December, where, not meeting with the friends he expected, he remained some days in concealment. Becoming uneasy and discouraged, and being asked the reason why, he replied: "I have laboured to bring people out of darkness, but now I lurk as a man ashamed to shew himself." Understanding that he desired to preach, and being told that they would gladly hear him, but that they were restrained from asking him by the danger to which he would thereby be exposed, he at once said: "If you and others will hear me next Sabbath I will preach in Leith, let God provide for me as best pleaseth Him." This he accordingly did, speaking to them on the parable of The Sower; after which, on their advice, as the Regent and Cardinal were expected in Edinburgh, he removed to a greater distance, residing in turn with the lairds of Brunston, Longniddry, and Ormiston.

On the following Sabbath, he preached at Inveresk, both forenoon and afternoon, to a large congregation, having among his hearers Sir George Douglas, brother of the Earl of Angus, who, at the close, openly avowed his sympathy with the preacher, and his accept-

ance of the doctrine he had heard. Perceiving two Grey Friars standing near the door of the church, and whispering to those who entered, Wishart asked the people to make room for them, quietly remarking, "Perhaps they come to learn." As they still continued to interrupt the service, he then indignantly addressed them in the following terms:—"O, ye servants of Satan and deceivers of the souls of men, will ye neither hear God's truth, nor suffer others to hear it? Depart, and take this for your portion—God shall shortly confound and disclose your hypocrisy within this realm; ye shall be abominable unto men and your places and habitations shall be desolate."

The next two Sabbaths he preached at Tranent, where, as in all his sermons, since leaving Montrose, he intimated pretty plainly that his ministry was near a close. At Haddington, the next place visited, his congregation, which at first was very large, speedily diminished, owing, it was thought, to the influence of the Earl of Bothwell, who had warned the people not to attend. This, coupled with the fact that he now received a letter from the gentlemen of the West, announcing that they would be unable to meet him as arranged at Edinburgh, greatly

depressed him, and moved him to say to Knox, who was then attending his ministry, that he was weary of the world, since he perceived that men had become weary of God. Knox was at this time living at Longniddry House, in the capacity of tutor to the two sons of Hugh Douglas and the eldest son of the laird of Ormiston. He was, therefore, brought into frequent and intimate contact with Wishart during his present visit to East Lothian; and when, on the night of his third day's work at Haddington, with the gloomy forebodings of himself and his friends, the latter set out for the house of Cockburn of Ormiston, Knox, who had been with him throughout the day, was eager to accompany him, and share his danger. To this, as Hume Brown tells us very graphically, Wishart would not listen. "Nay," he said, "return to your bairns, and God bless you. One is sufficient for a sacrifice." In the words of this historian, "It was at such peril that Wishart had carried on his mission, that a two-handed sword was always borne beside him, and on this occasion it was Knox to whom it was entrusted. At Wishart's request, he reluctantly gave up the weapon, and they parted, never to meet again. Knox returned

to his pupils at Longniddry, and Wishart proceeded to Ormiston House, where he was seized the same night by the combined action of Beaton and Regent Arran." The latter, on assuming the Regency in 1542, was described as "the most fervent Protestant in Europe," but soon afterwards, when Cardinal Beaton was again in power, he publicly renounced his Protestantism and received absolution.

The circumstances of Wishart's arrest, and of his death, which took place in little more than a month afterwards, are described so minutely and graphically in the *Scots Worthies*, that we cannot do better than quote from that volume. This we do at some length, and with only a few verbal alterations. *

"Being come to Ormiston, he entered into some spiritual conversation in the family, particularly concerning the happy state of God's children; appointed the 51st psalm, according to an old version then in use, to be sung; and then recommended the company to God, going to bed some time sooner than ordinary. About midnight the

* Illustrated edition of the *Scots Worthies* by Rev. Dr. Carslaw, pp. 25-31.

ELPHINSTONE TOWER.

Facing page 55.

Earl of Bothwell beset the house, so as none could escape, and then called upon the laird, declaring the design to him, and entreating him not to hold out, for it would be to no purpose, because the Cardinal and Regent were coming with all their train; but if he would deliver Mr. Wishart up, Bothwell promised upon his honour that no evil should befall him. Being inveigled with this, and consulting with Mr. Wishart, who requested that the gates should be opened, saying, 'God's will be done,' the laird complied. The Earl of Bothwell entered with some gentlemen, who solemnly protested that Mr. Wishart should receive no harm, but that he would either carry him to his own house, or return him again to Ormiston in safety. Upon this promise hands were stricken, and Mr. Wishart went along with him to Elphinstone, where the Cardinal was; after which he was first carried to Edinburgh, then to the house of Hailes, the Earl of Bothwell's principal residence in East Lothian—perhaps upon pretence of fulfilling the engagement which Bothwell had come under to him—after which he was reconducted to Edinburgh, where the Cardinal had now assembled a convocation of prelates, for reforming some abuses, but without

effect. Buchanan says, that he was apprehended by a party of horse, detached by the Cardinal for that purpose; that at first the laird of Ormiston refused to deliver him up; upon which the Cardinal and Regent both posted thither, but could not prevail, until the Earl of Bothwell was sent for, who succeeded by flattery and fair promises, not one of which was fulfilled.

"Wishart remained at Edinburgh only a few days, until the bloodthirsty Cardinal prevailed with the Regent to deliver up this faithful servant of Jesus Christ to his tyranny. He was accordingly sent to St. Andrews; and, being advised to it by the Archbishop of Glasgow, he would have got a civil judge appointed to try him, if David Hamilton of Preston, a kinsman to the Regent, had not remonstrated against it, and represented the danger of attacking the servants of God, who had no other crime laid to their charge, but that of preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ. This speech, which Buchanan gives at large, affected the Regent in such a manner, that he absolutely refused the Cardinal's request; upon which the latter replied in anger, 'That he had only sent to him out of mere civility without any need for it; for that he, with his clergy,

had power sufficient to bring Mr. Wishart to condign punishment.' Thus was this servant of God left in the hands of that proud and merciless tyrant, the religious part of the nation loudly complaining of the Regent's weakness.

"Wishart being now in St. Andrews, the Cardinal without delay summoned the bishops and superior clergy to meet at that place on the 27th of February, 1546, to deliberate upon a question about which he was already resolved. The next day after this convocation, Mr. Wishart received a summons in prison, by the dean of the town, to answer on the morrow for his heretical doctrine before the judges. The next day the Cardinal went to the place of judgment in the Abbey church, with train of armed men, marching in warlike order; immediately Mr. Wishart was sent for from the Sea-tower, which was his prison, and, being about to enter the door of the church, a poor man asked alms of him, to whom he threw his purse.

"When he came before the Cardinal, John Winram, the sub-prior, went up into the pulpit by appointment, and delivered a discourse upon the nature of heresy, from Matthew xiii.; which he did with great

caution, and yet in such a way as applied more justly to the accusers than the accused, for he was a secret favourer of the truth. After him rose up one John Lauder, a most virulent enemy of religion, who acted the part of Mr. Wishart's accuser. Pulling out a long roll of maledictory charges against Mr. Wishart, he dealt out the Romish thunder so liberally, as terrified the ignorant bystanders, but did not in the least discompose this meek servant of Christ. He was accused of disobedience to the Regent's authority, of teaching that man had no free will, and of contemning fasting, all which charges he absolutely refused. Further, he was accused of denying that there are seven sacraments, and that auricular confession, extreme unction, and the sacrament of the altar, so called, are sacraments, and that we should pray to saints; of saying that it was necessary for every man to know and understand his baptism; that the Pope had no more power than another man; that it is as lawful to eat flesh upon Friday as upon Sunday; that there is no purgatory; and that it is in vain to build costly churches to the honour of God.

"While Lauder was reading these accusations, he had put himself into a most violent

sweat—frothing at the mouth, calling Mr. Wishart a runagate traitor, and demanding an answer. This Wishart gave in a short and modest oration, at which they cried out with one consent in most tumultuous manner. Perceiving that they were resolved to proceed against him to the utmost extremity, he appealed to a more equitable and impartial judge: upon which Lauder, repeating the several titles of the Cardinal, asked him, 'If my Lord Cardinal be not an equitable judge?' Mr. Wishart replied, 'I do not refuse him, but I desire the Word of God to be my judge, (also) the Temporal Estates with some of your Lordships added, because I am my Lord Regent's prisoner.' After some scornful language thrown out both against him and the Regent, they proceeded to read the articles against him a second time and hear his answers, which he made with great solidity of judgment; after which they condemned him to be burned as a heretic, paying no regard to his defences, nor to the movements of their own consciences, but thinking that by killing him they should do God good service. Upon this resolution (for their final sentence was not yet pronounced), Mr. Wishart kneeled down and prayed in the following manner:

"'O Immortal God, how long wilt Thou suffer the rage of the ungodly? how long shall they exercise their fury upon Thy servants who further Thy Word in this world, seeing they desire to choke and destroy Thy true doctrine and verity, by which Thou hast showed Thyself unto the world, which was drowned in blindness and ignorance of Thy name? O Lord, we know surely that Thy true servants must suffer, for Thy name's sake, both persecution, affliction, and troubles in this present life, which is but a shadow, as Thy prophets and apostles have shown us. But yet we desire Thee, merciful Father, that Thou wouldst preserve, defend, and help Thy congregation, which Thou hast chosen from before the foundation of the world, and give them Thy grace to hear Thy Word, and to be Thy true servants in this present life.'

"After this, the common people were removed until the final sentence should be pronounced. This being done, he was re-committed to the castle for that night. On his way thither, two friars came to him, requesting him to make his confession to them, which he refused, but desired them to bring Mr. Winram, who had preached that day; who being come, after some dis-

course with Mr. Wishart, asked him if he would receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Mr. Wishart answered, 'Most willingly, if I may have it administered according to Christ's institution, under both kinds of bread and wine.' Hereupon the sub-prior went to the bishops, and asked if they would permit the sacrament to be given to the prisoner. But the Cardinal, in all their names, answered, 'That it was not reasonable to give any spiritual benefit to an obstinate heretic, condemned by the Church.'

"All this night Mr. Wishart spent in prayer, and next morning the Captain of the Castle gave him notice that they had denied him the sacrament, and at the same time invited him to breakfast with him. This invitation Mr. Wishart accepted, saying, 'I will do that very willingly, and so much the rather, because I perceive you to be a good Christian, and a man fearing God.' All things being ready, and the family assembled to breakfast, Mr. Wishart, turning himself to the captain, said, 'I beseech you, in the name of God, and for the love you bear to our Saviour Jesus Christ, to be silent a little while, till I have made a short exhortation, and blessed this bread which we are to eat,

so that I may bid you farewell.' The table being covered, and bread being set upon it, he spake about the space of half-an-hour, of the institution of the Supper, and of our Saviour's death and passion, exhorting those who were present to mutual love and holiness of life. Then, giving thanks, he brake the bread, distributing a part to those about him who were disposed to communicate, entreating them to remember that Christ died for them, and to feed on it spiritually. Then, taking the cup, he bade them remember that Christ's blood was shed for them, and, having tasted it himself, he delivered it unto them, and then, concluding with thanksgiving and prayer, he told them 'that he would neither eat nor drink more in this life,' and retired to his chamber.

"Soon after, by the appointment of the Cardinal, two executioners came to him, and, arraying him in a black linen coat, they fastened some bags of gunpowder about him, put a rope about his neck, a chain about his waist, and bound his hands behind his back, and in this dress they led him to the stake, near the Cardinal's palace. Opposite to the stake they had placed the great guns of the castle, lest any should attempt to rescue him. The fore-tower,

which was immediately opposite to the fire, was hung with tapestry, and rich cushions were laid in the windows, for the ease of the Cardinal and prelates, while they beheld the sad spectacle. As he was going to the stake, it is said that two beggars asked alms of him, and that he replied: 'I want my hands wherewith I used to give you alms; but the merciful Lord vouchsafe to give you all necessaries, both for soul and body.' After this the friars came about him, urging him to pray to our Lady, to whom he answered, 'Cease; tempt me not, I entreat you.'

"Having mounted a scaffold prepared on purpose, he turned towards the people and declared, that he felt much joy within himself in offering up his life for the name of Christ, and told them, that they ought not to be offended with the good Word of God, because of the afflictions he had endured, or the torments which they now saw prepared for him. 'But I entreat you,' said he, 'that you love the Word of God for your salvation, and suffer patiently and with a comfortable heart for the Word's sake, which is your everlasting comfort; though for the true Gospel, which was given me by the Grace of God, I suffer this day with a glad heart.

Behold and consider my visage: ye shall not see me change my colour. I fear not this fire, and I pray that you may not fear them that slay the body, but have no power to slay the soul. Some have said that I taught, that the soul shall sleep till the last day; but I know surely, and my faith is such, that my soul shall sup with my Saviour this night.' Then he prayed for his accusers, that they might be forgiven, if, through ignorance or evil design, they had forged lies upon him. After this, the executioner asked his forgiveness, to whom he replied, 'Come hither to me;' and when he came, he kissed his cheek, and said, 'Lo, here is a token that I forgive thee; do thine office.' Being raised up from his knees, he was bound to the stake, crying with a loud voice, 'O Saviour of the world, have mercy upon me! Father of heaven, I commend my spirit into Thy holy hands!' The executioner having kindled the fire, the powder fastened to his body blew up. The Captain of the Castle, perceiving that he was still alive, drew near, and bade him be of good courage; whereupon Mr. Wishart said, 'This flame hath scorched my body, yet it hath not daunted my spirit. But he who, from yonder place, beholdeth us with such pride, shall

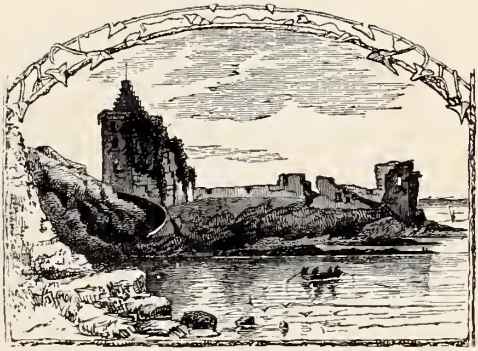
within a few days lie in the same, as ignominiously as he is now seen proudly to rest himself.' As he was thus speaking, the executioner drew the cord that was about his neck so strait that he spoke no more; and thus, like another Elijah, he took his flight by a fiery chariot into heaven, and obtained the martyr's crown on the 1st of March, 1546.

"The Popish clergy rejoiced at his death, and extolled the Cardinal's courage, for proceeding in it against the Governor's order; but the people very justly looked upon Wishart as both a prophet and a martyr. It was also said that, apart from the grounds of his suffering, his death was no less than murder, in regard no writ was obtained for it, and the clergy could not burn any without a warrant from the secular power.

"This stirred up Norman and John Leslie, of the family of Rothes, William Kirkcaldy of Grange, James Melvill of the family of Carnbee, Peter Carmichael, and others, to avenge Mr. Wishart's death. Accordingly, upon the 28th of May, 1546 (not three months after Mr. Wishart suffered), they surprised the Castle early in the morning, and either secured or turned out the persons

that were lodged in it. On coming to the Cardinal's door, he was by this time alarmed, and had secured it (relying partly upon the sanctity of his office, and partly on his acquaintance with some of them), crying, 'I am a priest, I am a priest.' This, however, had no effect upon them; for James Melvill having exhorted him in a solemn manner to repentance, and having apprised him that he was now to avenge Mr. Wishart's death, stabbed him twice or thrice, which ended his wretched days. These persons, with some others who came in to them, held the Castle for nearly two years, being assisted by England. They had the Governor's eldest son with them, for he had been put under the Cardinal's care, and was in the Castle at the time they surprised it. The Castle was at length besieged by the French, and surrendered upon having the lives of all that were in it secured."

Among those whom sympathy with its garrison drew to St. Andrews, mention may be made of John Knox and his three pupils, George and Francis Douglas and Alexander Cockburn; also of Sir David Lindsay, who gave expression to his own sentiments and those of many others in the well-known lines:—



CASTLE OF ST. ANDREWS.

Facing page 66.

"As for the Cardinal, I grant
He was the man we well might want;
God will forgive it soon.
But of a truth the sooth to say,
Although the loon be well away,
The deed was foully done."

Beaton, as Professor Herkless remarks, was "a typical prelate of the pre-Reformation times, in so far as immorality and worldliness are concerned;" and while in these respects he fitly represents the character of that Church, he also stands as one who, by his rank and power, was responsible for her spiritual and moral degradation. The martyrdom of Wishart alone has kept his memory alive, and still holds it forth to shame and everlasting contempt. If obliged on historic grounds to yield him a place among Scotland's greatest statesmen and patriots, we cannot forget that patriotism has been described as the last refuge of a scoundrel, and that in this case the saying is true.

WALTER MYLN.

WALTER MYLN.

To this aged and venerable martyr belongs the peculiar honour of ushering in the dawn of the First Reformation in Scotland. Judged by an intellectual or social standard, Hamilton and Wishart were decidedly his superiors, and none would more readily have acknowledged this than he. But however humble his origin, and however undistinguished his gifts and attainments, he had this advantage over them, that he had lived longer than either, and had witnessed a steady and general advance towards evangelical truth and freedom. In 1527, when Hamilton died, and in 1546, when Wishart died, notwithstanding the presence here and there of individuals and small companies of men who loved and obeyed the Gospel, there was still darkness over all the land. But with the death of Cardinal Beaton and the numerous and important changes to which this led in the government of both

Church and State, a happier and more hopeful spirit had diffused itself throughout the nation. The night was far spent and the day was at hand when Walter Myln was brought to the stake, and we are fully justified in describing him as the bright and morning star, whose departure was speedily followed by the rising of the sun.

The circumstances of his early life are involved in much obscurity. Lunan, where for twenty years he served as parish priest, is a small seaboard parish between Arbroath and Montrose, bounded on the west by the parish of Kinnell, on the north by the lands of Maryton and Craig, and on the south by Lunan Water. The Bay of Lunan is described as one of the finest and most spacious on the East Coast, and the old square tower of Redcastle, which forms a conspicuous object near the shore, is interesting historically as being once the seat of the De Berkeleys, who conferred the lands of Inverkeillor upon the Abbey of Arbroath, and as having in the thirteenth century fallen into the hands of the Balliols of Barnard Castle, in Yorkshire.

Some who have examined the registers and other ancient books of Arbroath and its neighbourhood have been led to believe that

the subject of this narrative was a native of the district, and connected with one or other of the numerous families which held their leases from the Abbey and regularly paid to it their tithes and other dues. This may very well have formed a link of connection between him and the priesthood, and may have weighed with the Abbot in appointing him to the charge. As he appears to have been born in 1476, and not to have entered on his duties here until 1526, he must already have spent a large part of his life in the ordinary routine duties of a monk—a fact, doubtless, which furnished material for serious reflection in his later years, and made him more eager to redeem the time. According to tradition, he was "one of the monks of the Abbey of Arbroath," and received his presentation to the parish of Lunan from David Beaton two years after he became Abbot. How true it is that the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God; for it is written, "He taketh the wise in their own craftiness." In subsequent years this wily and cruel man must often have wished that he had appointed some one else to the post. But if at the time he thought of it at all, he doubtless imagined that in helping an old servant like

this monk of fifty years of age, he was also serving himself. For, indeed, David Beaton was one of the most selfish and unprincipled men who ever breathed, and at present was living at Ethie House, not far off, with his favourite mistress, Marion Ogilvie, daughter of Sir James Ogilvie, by whom at least he had two sons. Speaking of him and his successor, Hill Burton, in his *History*, has truly said: "They flared their amours in the face of the world, as if proud of the excellence of their taste for beauty, and the rank and birth that had become prostrate to their solicitations. It seemed as if their very greatness as temporal grandees enabled them to defy the ordinary laws of decorum, while their spiritual rank secured to them immunity from that clerical punishment which it was their duty to pronounce against less gifted sinners."

Whether and to what extent the recently inducted priest of Lunan was impressed by Patrick Hamilton's death in February, 1527, we cannot say; but the contrast between Beaton and Hamilton was so great, both in character and life, that we cannot be surprised if it arrested his attention and awakened him to serious enquiry. Hamilton, very much at Beaton's instigation, had

been sent to the stake for exposing the corruptions and abuses of the Church, and also for denying the existence of Purgatory and protesting against the idolatry of the mass. "Serious people within the realm," says Knox, "began to enquire and question whether it was necessary to accept such articles under pain of damnation. And so within short space many began to call in doubt that which before they held for certain verity."

Of these enquirers, one was the priest of Lunan. Probably for a time he sought to conceal his change of views, and more in private than in public brought his influence to bear on the opinions and morals of the people. But, like his Master, he could not be hid, and after a time it became a matter of public notoriety that his views had undergone a change. Studying the Bible in the solitude of his seaboard parish, he saw how very different its teaching was from that of the Church with which he had been so long familiar. He saw, also, how inconsistent were the lives of the bishops with what they professed to believe, and he began to denounce their indolence, profligacy, and worldliness. Timidly at first, but gaining courage as he proceeded, he

gradually entered upon a new way of life, and openly avowed his sympathy with those who were called to suffer for conscience' sake. What amount of success attended his labours, the Book of Life alone will reveal; but soon his ministry came to an end, and he was obliged to seek safety in flight.

Early in 1546—the year of Wishart's martyrdom—Cardinal Beaton, while staying at Ethie House and eager for prey, issued a warrant for his arrest and that of his friend and neighbour, John Petrie of Inverkeiler, chaplain to Lord Innerneath, one of the Senators of Justice. This must have been either in January or between Wishart's death on the 1st of March and his own assassination, which took place on the 29th of May. Probably it was in March immediately after Wishart's martyrdom, as on the 10th of April he was at St. Andrews, "consenting and agreeing" to a contract of marriage between his illegitimate daughter, Margaret Beaton, and the Master of Crawford. At any rate, he was defeated in this attempt to lay hold of God's servant, Myln escaping out of his hands and hiding, at first in Galloway and Ayrshire. Even there, however, he was not safe, and soon we find

him seeking refuge on the Continent. There is a tradition to the effect that he acted for a time as the skipper of a trading vessel, though when we think of his age, probably now in his seventieth year, this does not seem probable. That he married and spent a good many years on the Continent are the only facts about which we have certain information. His wife, whether a foreigner or a native of Scotland, must have been a good deal younger than himself, as from the Collector-General's accounts of the *Thirds of Benefices, 1573*, it appears that his widow was still in receipt of a yearly pension.

Early in 1558, he returned to Scotland, doubtless hoping, from reports which reached him, that he would now be able with impunity to resume his much-loved work of preaching the Gospel. Of late the number of Protestants had been rapidly increasing, and on the 3rd December, 1557, the first of those religious "bonds" or "covenants," which occupy so prominent a place in the religious history of Scotland, was formally adopted and subscribed by the reforming noblemen and barons, or the "Lords of the Congregation," as they henceforth called themselves. By this manifesto of Protestantism, they held themselves bound to

apply their whole power, substance, and very lives "to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed Word of God and His congregation." They also undertook, so far as possible, to have faithful ministers purely and truly to minister Christ's Evangel and Sacraments to the people. And although it was understood that the Reformers should teach and preach only in private till the Parliament granted them fuller liberty, still they were protected and favoured by the highest in the land, and frequently employed as domestic chaplains.

A curious illustration of this state of matters is afforded in a correspondence which took place between the Earl of Argyll and Archbishop Hamilton, who had succeeded Beaton at St. Andrews. The latter, having courteously but urgently requested the Earl to put away John Douglas, an evangelical preacher, whom he was openly encouraging, the Earl, with equal dignity and decision, refused to do so, affirming his right to act in this matter according to the Word of God, and the dictates of his own conscience. It would appear, however, that then, as occasionally still, there was one law for the rich and powerful, and another for the poor and

defenceless. Accordingly, we are not surprised to learn that, while the Archbishop could not interfere with that nobleman's liberty, he did not hesitate, the very next month, to inflict the extreme penalty of the law on one whom George Buchanan describes as "a priest, none of the most learned, of weakly constitution of body and extremely poor." By this time, if we accept the generally received chronology, he had reached the advanced age of eighty-two, and yet, instead of resting from his labours, he had found his way to Dysart in Fife, and was there diligently engaged in preaching privately, when, at the instigation of the vicar of the parish and another Popish priest, he was arrested and sent as a prisoner to St. Andrews.

The Archbishop, whose temper probably had not been improved by his correspondence with Argyll, was an illegitimate son of the first Earl of Arran. In his youth he had borne a good reputation, but when, on the death of Beaton, he was appointed to succeed him in the Primacy, he failed to watch successfully against the peculiar temptations to which he was now exposed. Though Buchanan formed a somewhat favourable opinion of him, especially when contrasted

with his predecessor, and states in his *History* (vol. iii., p. 86), that "he rather coveted the money than the blood of his enemies, and was seldom cruel but when it was to maintain his plunder and his pleasures," it is a well-known fact that, among other mesalliances, he had one in particular with Lady Grisell Sempill, by whom he had several children, two of whom were legitimated in 1551. Such was the man into the dungeon of whose castle Myln was now cast, and before whose bar he had soon to be arraigned. At the time of his arrest, he was found "in a poor wife's house, teaching her the commandments of God, and learning her how she should instruct her bairns and her household, and bring them up in the fear of God." However, the legal process, originated by the Cardinal twelve years before, was the instrument which was now employed in putting this aged and venerable man to a cruel death, and thus making his wife a widow, and his children fatherless.

On the 20th of April, his trial began in the Abbey Church of St. Andrews, the Primate and other ecclesiastical dignitaries being present. While in prison they had done their utmost, both by threatenings and bribes, to induce him to recant, but all

to no purpose. He was appealed to on the ground of his age and poverty; he was offered a place in the Abbey of Dunfermline; he was reminded of the cruel sufferings and death which awaited him, if he refused to repent. But man's extremity became God's opportunity, and abundant grace was bestowed on him, enabling him to remain stedfast under every temptation, and subsequently to "answer so stoutly and prudently too," that, in the words of Buchanan, "his very enemies could not but acknowledge, that such greatness and confidence of spirit, in such an enfeebled carcase, must needs have a support from above."

The prosecutor, Andrew Oliphant, was a priest who had once been Vicar of Foulis and Innertig, but had subsequently been employed by Beaton and Hamilton as their confidential agent at Rome. After a very poor sermon by one of the Friars, Myln was kneeling in the pulpit, engaged in silent prayer, when Oliphant somewhat rudely commanded him to rise, saying, "Sir Walter, arise and answer to the articles, for you hold my Lord here overlong." To this Walter calmly answered, "We ought to obey God rather than men. I serve a mightier Lord than yours. And whereas you call me Sir

Walter, call me now only Walter; for I have been overlong one of the Pope's knights. Now say what you have to say."

Questioned then by Oliphant:—

(1) Concerning the Sacraments, Myln affirmed there were but two, and not seven, as the Church of Rome maintains, namely, Baptism and The Lord's Supper. If there be seven, he added, why have you omitted one, even marriage, and give yourselves to scandalous and ungodly whoredom?

(2) Concerning the marriage of priests, he replied that marriage is an ordinance of God, approved by Christ and declared by His Apostles to be holy and honourable in all; then he charged the priests with violating "other men's wives and daughters," thereby breaking their solemn vow of chastity, and boldly affirmed that "God never forbade marriage to any man, of what state or degree soever he were."

(3) Charged with affirming that the Mass was idolatry, he answered, "A lord or a king calleth many to a dinner, and when it is ready he causeth to ring the bell, and the men come and sit down to the feast, but the lord turning his back upon them (as the

priest does in the Mass), eateth all himself and so mocketh them, so do ye."

(4) Asked if he denied the Sacrament of the Altar to be the very body of Christ really in flesh and blood, he answered that the Scripture was to be interpreted not literally but spiritually, and that, as Christ had been "once offered on the Cross for man's trespass," He thereby ended all sacrifice.

(5) Accused of denying the office of a Bishop, he boldly replied, "I affirm that those you call Bishops do no Bishop's work, but live in sensual pleasure, taking no care of Christ's flock nor regarding His Word."

(6) Charged with speaking against pilgrimages, he affirmed that these were not enjoined in Scripture, and that the shrines were places of temptation. There is no greater whoredom in any place, he added, except it be in common brothels.

(7) Accused of preaching privately in houses and openly in the fields, he cheerfully replied, "Yea, man, and on the sea also, when sailing in a ship."

Such is Foxe's account of the trial which was sent to him by some who were present.

Additional and interesting facts, however, have been supplied from other sources.

"Heretic," said Oliphant, "why didst thou pass about through sundry houses, seducing the people, teaching them charms and enchantments to hold them from God's service?"

"Verily, brother," said Myln, "I held no man from the Kirk, but contrariwise exhorted all men to the service of God; and that they might understand the way of salvation, I taught them the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and the ten Commandments."

"But, seeing thou art a priest, why hast thou forsaken the Mass? Thou hadst the cure of souls at Lunan in Angus, beside Redcastle, from which thou fleddest and one with thee, servant to Lord Innermeath. You and he were condemned by my late Lord Cardinal for heresy, and ordered to be burned wherever you might be apprehended; so that we need no further accusation against you at this time."

"Brother," said the accused, "indeed I served the Cure at Lunan twenty years, with the approbation to this day of all the parishioners, who never heard me teach erroneous doctrine, especially my Lord Innermeath himself. But when the furious

Cardinal persecuted me, and many more for the preaching of God's Word, I was constrained to keep myself quiet, and go about begging for God's sake, reproving vices and instructing people in the grounds of religion; for the which I am now taken and brought to this place."

"Wilt thou bere thy faggot," asked the Bishop, "and thy life shall be safe?"

"That," said he, "I will not do to confess myself a heretic. I am a poor indigent man, not caring for this world, assured that my reward is in heaven. I am also of great age and have no cause to fear death. Do with me as you think best. But it were better for you to give something for the relief of my wife and my poor children."

Thus stoutly refusing to recant, Walter Myln was condemned to the stake. "I know," he said, "I must die once; and therefore, as Christ said to Judas, what thou doest, do quickly. You shall know that I will not recant the truth, for I am corn and not chaff. I shall not be blown away with the wind nor burst with the flail, but will abide both."

The impression produced by the trial was so favourable to the prisoner, that an unforeseen difficulty now arose, and made it

necessary to postpone the execution till the following day. To this Buchanan refers in his *History* (iii. 86), when he says: "The citizens of St. Andrews were so much offended at the wrong done him, that there was none found who would sit as Judge upon him; and all the tradesmen shut up their shops that they might sell no materials towards his execution, which was the cause of his reprieve for one day more than was intended. At last, one Alexander Somerville, a friend of the Archbishop, was found the next day, a great villain, who undertook to act as Judge. This is certainty, the commonalty took his death so heinously that they heaped up a great pile of stones in the place where he was burnt, that so the memory of his death might not end with his life. The priests took order to have it thrown down for some days; but still as they threw it down one day, it was raised up the next; till at last the Papists conveyed the stones away to build houses with about the town."

So true it is that the memory of the just is blessed, while the name of the wicked shall rot! Near the ruined Castle of St. Andrews, once the abode of Beaton and of Hamilton, visitors may now see an

elegant obelisk, bearing the following inscription :—

"In memory of the martyrs, PATRICK HAMILTON, HENRY FORREST,* GEORGE WISHART, WALTER MILL, who in support of the Protestant faith suffered by fire at St. Andrews between the years 1528 and 1558. The righteous shall be held in everlasting remembrance."

The closing scene reminds us of a similar one at Smyrna nearly fourteen hundred years before, when Polycarp, urged to abjure his faith and blaspheme Christ, returned the noble answer, "Eighty-and-six years have I served Him, and He never did me any injury; how then can I blaspheme my King and my Saviour?" Baptised with the same spirit, and filled with the same

* A Benedictine friar, who, according to Knox, suffered martyrdom for no other crime than having in his possession a copy of the New Testament in English. After a long imprisonment in the Sea-tower of St. Andrews, he was burned near the north side of the Abbey Church "to the intent that all the people of Anguishe (*i.e.*, Angus or Forfar, on the north side of the Tay), might see the fire, and so might be the more feared from falling into the like doctrine."

hope and courage, the Scottish martyr when brought to the stake first knelt down and prayed. Then rising and standing on the coals, he spoke to the following effect:—

"Dear friends, the cause why I suffer this day is not for any crime laid to my charge (though I acknowledge myself a miserable sinner before God), but only for the defence of the truth of Jesus Christ set forth in the Old and New Testament. I praise God that He hath called me, among the rest of His servants, to seal up His truth with my life. As I have received this of Him, I willingly offer it up for His glory. Therefore, as ye would escape eternal death, be no longer seduced by the lies of Bishops, Abbots, Friars, Monks, and the rest of that sect of Antichrist, but depend only upon Jesus Christ and His mercy that so ye may be delivered from condemnation."

Having spoken thus he prayed a little while, and after being bound to the stake and the fire kindled, he cried, "Lord, have mercy on me! Pray, pray, good people, while there is time." "And so," says old John Howie of Lochgoin, "he cheerfully yielded up his soul into the hands of his God, on the 28th of April, 1558, being then about the eighty-second year of his age.

. . . The death of this martyr brought about the downfall of Popery in Scotland; for the people in general were so much inflamed that, resolving openly to profess the truth, they bound themselves by promises and oaths that before they would be thus abused any longer, they would take up arms and resist the Papal tyranny—which at last they did."

MARQUIS OF ARGYLL.

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MARQUIS OF ARGYLL.

WHILE all men are liable to suffer from the slings and arrows of outraged fortune, few, if any, have had so bitter an experience of this peculiarity of human life as Archibald Campbell, the eighth Earl and the only Marquis of Argyll. Even the recognised custom of refraining from speaking evil of the dead has been forgotten in his case by many, who, had they lived at the same time as he, would not have been worthy to unloose the latchet of his shoe. Yet while slandered and traduced by some, he is equally loved and honoured by others, and this difference of opinion is not peculiar to this age, but seems to have prevailed all through his life. Thus, according to Scott in *The Legend of Montrose*, "he was adored by his own clan, whose advancement he had greatly studied, while others conceived themselves in danger from his future schemes, and all dreaded the height to

which he was elevated." The time was a searching one, and however anxious to avoid evil of every kind, and to steer a straight course, even the most upright and consistent man must have found it difficult to do so. This difficulty, of course, was greatly increased in the case of those who, either from birth or from the possession of exceptional talents and opportunities, were obliged to take a prominent share in public affairs.

Born, as seems most probable, at Inveraray in 1607, his mother, who was a daughter of the Earl of Morton, died soon after his birth, on which account, and also in consequence of his father's second marriage to a Roman Catholic, his upbringing, from a very early age, would be largely in the hands of strangers and servants. His principal guardian was his cousin, the ninth Earl of Morton, who succeeded to the Earldom in 1606, and afterwards became his father-in-law through Argyll's marriage with the Earl's second daughter, Margaret Douglas. A curious incident is mentioned by Mr. Willcock in his excellent volume, *The Great Marquess*, in connection with this event. The King, Charles I., who seemed to regard the young Scotch chieftain with special

favour, had already selected for him another lady, Elizabeth Stewart, sister of the Duke of Lennox. Through this alliance to one of his own kinswomen, Charles, doubtless, hoped to attach Lord Lorne firmly to his interests. But, unfortunately for the success of this plan, the lady in question had fallen in love with the eldest son of the Earl of Arundel, and before the latter knew anything of the matter the marriage of the lovers had already taken place. When at last compelled to break the news to the King, he, though entirely innocent of any intention to oppose his royal master, fared the worst of all. His share of the punishments, which were dealt out to the culprits without a trial, was three months' imprisonment in the Tower. To what extent Lord Lorne suffered, in connection with this episode of his life, we have no means of ascertaining, but any disappointment he may have experienced was soon amply compensated for by his marriage with one whom he knew so well, and who, though only sixteen, proved herself an admirable helpmeet and an excellent and devoted mother.

In 1628, two years after his marriage, Lord Lorne was appointed a member of the Privy Council, and received other tokens

of the royal favour. His father, who had previously conveyed to him the fee simple of his estate, retaining only the life-rent thereof, now relinquished this also, giving over into the hands of his son everything included in the Earldom, not excepting the heavy burdens which rested on it, and receiving in return an annual payment. By this time he had already begun to champion the cause of those who were opposed to the Bishops. Thomas Sydserf, the Bishop of Galloway, in particular excited his indignation by the sentence passed on Alexander Gordon of Earlston for refusing to kneel at the Lord's Supper. Having paid for him the fine of five hundred merks, Lord Lorne succeeded, though with difficulty, in recalling the sentence of banishment which had been passed upon him, and in restoring Gordon to his family. Samuel Rutherford, too, one of the most prominent and best beloved of the Presbyterian ministers, owed much to his friendly interposition. Having been tried by the High Commission in 1636, and banished from Anwoth to Aberdeen, Lord Lorne exerted himself strenuously on behalf of the accused. In one of his letters, Rutherford says: "My Lord has brought me a friend from the Highlands of Argyll, my

Lord of Lorn, who hath done as much as was within the compass of his power. . . . God gave me favour in his eyes." To his sister, Lady Kenmure, he also writes: "Write thanks to your brother, my Lord of Lorn, for what he has done for me, a poor, unknown stranger to him. I shall pray for him and his house while I live. It is his honour to open his mouth in the streets for his wronged and oppressed Master, Jesus Christ."

The events which now occurred in Scotland were so important in themselves, and in their consequences, that no apology need be offered for referring to them at some length. In the years 1636 and 1637, a deliberate attempt was made by the King and his advisers to impose the worst and most hated form of Prelacy upon the nation. First a book of Canons was sent down from England, and, after a short delay, a new Liturgy or Service Book, specially prepared under the auspices of Archbishop Laud, and strongly impregnated with Popish doctrines and ceremonies. The day fixed for the introduction of the Service Book was the 23rd of July, 1637, and the events of that day made an impression on the mind of the nation which time has not been able to

efface. In the Greyfriars' Church of Edinburgh, where the Bishop of Argyll officiated, the people gave utterance to their feelings only in tears and groans; but in St. Giles, where a similar service was being conducted, an incident occurred, small in itself, yet mighty in its consequences. The Dean of Edinburgh had just begun to read the prayers, when an old woman, by name Janet Geddes, snatching up the stool on which she sat, hurled it at his head, with the exclamation, "Villain, dost thou say mass at my lug?" This was the spark which alone was needed to produce the explosion which now shook the kingdom to its centre, and drew from the Primate the despairing exclamation, "All that we have been doing these thirty years past is at once thrown down."

From all parts of the kingdom, petitions against the innovations were now showered upon the Privy Council, and multitudes of every class flocked to the Capital, ready to support their petitions, if necessary, with their lives. Indeed, so great was the concourse that it was found expedient to divide the petitioners into four groups, namely, nobles, gentry, ministers, and burgesses, whose deputies or commissioners met in

the Parliament House, and sat around four different tables for conference. Hence the well-known name of "The Tables," which occurs so frequently in the subsequent history of the nation.

On learning that their petitions, though supported by the Privy Council, had been rejected by the King, another and decisive step was taken. Remembering that at another crisis of the nation's history (1580-1581), the people had entered into a solemn Covenant, binding themselves to defend and maintain the Protestant religion against any and every enemy, it was resolved to renew this Covenant, adapting it to the altered circumstances of the time. Accordingly, the document now known as the National Covenant, and generally recognised as the Magna Charta of Scottish liberty, was prepared by Alexander Henderson, minister of Leuchars, and Archibald Johnston, afterwards Lord Warriston, and, having been approved by "The Tables," it was publicly subscribed in the Greyfriars' Churchyard of Edinburgh, on the last day of February, 1638. Strange to say, one of the first names appended to this document is that of the Marquis of Montrose, while that of the

Marquis of Argyll is conspicuous by its absence.

Soon after this national spectacle, the King sent for several members of the Privy Council, that he might confer with them on the state of public affairs, prominent among whom was Lord Lorne, who had not yet publicly committed himself, and was even an object of suspicion to many of the Covenanters. As the result of this conference, the Marquis of Hamilton was appointed Royal Commissioner to Scotland, and was entrusted with sundry concessions which the King was willing to make, but which were ultimately rejected as altogether insufficient. Finally, after long and frequent negotiations, Charles agreed to summon a meeting of Assembly and of Parliament, the former to be held at Glasgow on the 21st November, 1638, the latter at Edinburgh on the 15th of May, 1639. To counteract the popular movement, the King further proposed to substitute for the National Covenant another, namely that of 1580-81, which was called the King's Covenant, and which the Marquis of Hamilton persuaded the members of the Privy Council to sign, binding the signatories to defend the Protestant faith and to support the King in the exercise of

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his lawful authority. This, though circulated widely, received but few signatures, and was finally set aside.

At the Glasgow Assembly, which met in the Cathedral, on the 21st of November, 1638, and was presided over by the Marquis of Hamilton, Lord Lorne, now Earl of Argyll on account of his father's recent death, was present, not as a member, but as one of six assessors in attendance upon the Commismissioner. The members of the Assembly were 238 in number, of whom 140 were ministers and 98 elders; while the public interest in its proceedings was so great, that for the first fourteen days of its sitting the building was densely crowded, and it was with difficulty that members could reach their places. After the minister of Leuchars, Alexander Henderson, had been unanimously appointed Moderator, and Archibald Johnston, Clerk, various other matters were disposed of, when a paper, bearing the signatures of the two Archbishops and four Bishops, and declining to recognise the lawfulness of the Assembly, was handed in. At a subsequent diet, the Royal Commissioner having formally dissolved it in the King's name, the Assembly, by an overwhelming majority, resolved to disregard the announcement, and

to proceed with its business. In connection with this incident, Wodrow tells us that after the Marquis had dissolved the Assembly and retired, one of the members, David Dickson, rose and made a speech to this effect:—"That that nobleman was very much to be commended for his zeal and faithfulness to his master, the King, and sticking close by what he thought for his credit and interest; and he craved leave to propose his example for the Assembly's imitation. They had a better Master, Christ, the King of kings, to serve, and His credit and honour to look after, according to their commission and trust, and therefore he moved that, having this in their eye, they might sit still and do their Master's work faithfully." "This speech," says Wodrow, "mightily moved the Assembly, and they cheerfully sat still."

On the following day, Argyll was the only Privy Councillor who was in his place, the rest having withdrawn on the retiral of the Commissioner. His presence was at once observed, and, according to Baillie, he was earnestly entreated by the Moderator, to continue to shew his countenance, although he was not a member. This, says Baillie, "to our great joy he promised to do, and

did truly perform his promise." Already, before the withdrawal of the Commissioner, he had requested permission to explain his position, and, to the surprise and joy of all, had openly intimated his adherence to the popular cause. In subscribing the King's Covenant, along with the other members of the Privy Council, he had done so only in the sense of expressing his fidelity to the constitution in Church and State as this existed in 1580-81, and had never meant thereby to indicate his approval of recent innovations. Accused as he has frequently been, and still is, of cowardice, and even of double dealing, the courage now displayed by him when the hour of danger had actually arrived, becomes all the more conspicuous and praiseworthy. Replying to the Moderator's acknowledgment, in his closing address, of the comfort and strength they had derived from his presence and counsel, Argyll expressed the hope that none who heard him would misunderstand his delay in severing his connection with their enemies, and openly avowing their cause. Hitherto, he said, he had refrained from this step in the hope that, in secret ways, he might aid the common cause. Now of late, however, matters had come to such a pass that either

he must join their society openly or be a knave. His parting advice was, to cultivate a spirit of unity, to speak respectfully of the King and his authority, and, remembering that the Bishops had been brought to ruin by avarice and pride, to endeavour earnestly to avoid these sins, lest they should make shipwreck of their faith.

And now, for the next two and twenty years, Argyll is so closely associated with the history of that soul-moving period in our land, that it would be impossible to write his life satisfactorily, without attempting to describe the course of events which issued in the death of the King, the coronation and exile of his son, the rise and fall of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, and, last of all, the Restoration, with its deplorable results. This we are unable to do in the brief space at our command; and therefore we must content ourselves with referring our readers to any ordinary History, or even to Howie's plain and unvarnished narrative, which for more than a century has been exposed to the test of adverse criticism, and is still regarded as generally reliable.

For a while, Argyll's chief rivals in the government of the country were Montrose and Hamilton. The former inflicted on him

a severe defeat at Inverlochy, in February, 1645, while the latter gained a signal triumph in diplomacy, and snatched the reins of government from his hands for a season. But after Philiphaugh, where a crushing blow fell on Montrose, and after Preston, where Hamilton and his Engagement policy suffered a final overthrow, the government once more returned into the hands of Argyll, and on the death of Charles, on the scaffold, in January, 1649, he broke at once with Cromwell and the Commonwealth, and espoused with entire abandonment the cause of the monarch's son. The latter, unfortunately for Argyll and all concerned, while resembling his father in obstinacy, was very unlike him in other respects. "The one thing," says Green, in his *History of the English People*, "he seemed in earnest about was sensual pleasure, and he took his pleasure with a cynical shamelessness, which roused the disgust even of his shameless courtiers." Osmund Airy, in his admirable monograph recently published, sums up his indictment in these scathing words: "His guide was not duty: it was not even ambition: but his guide was self: it was ease and amusement and lust." While at Breda, in Holland, where he was main-

tained in comfort by his brother-in-law, the Prince of Orange, he received from his father three long letters, in one of which the following sentences occur: "We know not but this may be the last time we may speak to you or the world publicly. We are sensible into what hands we are fallen, and yet we have these inward refreshments the malice of our enemies cannot disturb. . . . If God gives you success, use it humbly, and far from revenge. If He restore you to your rights on hard conditions, whatever you promise, keep. Do not think anything in this world worth the obtaining by foul or unjust means." When the King wrote these words, which his son read not many weeks before his father's death, did he know the character of the man to whom he handed on for safe keeping the honour of his throne? It almost seems as though he did, and with his dying breath were warning him against those "foul and unjust means" by which at length he succeeded in recovering his kingdom, but which made it impossible for him to retain it for his family. On February 7th, 1649, Charles was proclaimed King at the Cross of Edinburgh, but on condition that he was to give satisfaction concerning religion, the union of the kingdoms, and the

good and peace of Scotland according to the Covenant. "If his Majesty," said Baillie, "may be moved to join with us in this one point, he will have all Scotland ready to sacrifice their lives for his service. If he refuse or shift this duty, his best and most useful friends, both here and elsewhere, will be cast into inextricable labyrinths, we fear, for the ruin of us all." On the 20th of February, Sir Joseph Douglas brought an offer from Argyll to send Commissioners to Breda to arrange for the King's reception in Scotland, on condition of "his good behaviour, strict observance of the Covenant, and his entertaining no other persons about him but such as were godly men and faithful to that obligation." After long negotiation Commissioners arrived, but not before Montrose had already sailed for Scotland to raise up civil war, bearing the King's commission, which the latter was cowardly enough to disown when he found it was not to be successful. Our sympathies naturally lie with our countrymen who were determined not to allow the King to land on our shores until he had accepted the Covenants unconditionally, and promised to rule in accordance with their principles. But we do not wonder that an Englishman,

like Osmund Airy, should feel most indignant at his shameful treachery and duplicity, and should thus express himself:—"It is not for his treatment of the Scotch kirkmen that he must be condemned; it is for the cool selfishness with which he repudiated his engagements with Montrose, for his unruffled desertion of his spotless servant, that he owes his first claim upon the execration of all honest men." For a full month Charles fought against the terms proffered him by the Scots, hoping even yet in the possibilities of delay. At length on May 1 he signed the first draft of the Treaty of Breda, on May 3 he sent orders to Montrose to disband, and on May 12 he publicly announced that he utterly disapproved of his expedition. Before this, however, Montrose had fought his last fight at Corbiesdale, near the Pass of Invercarron, in Ross-shire, and on May 21 was executed at Edinburgh, Charles meanwhile writing to the Parliament that he rejoiced in his defeat, and refusing to put forth any effort to save his faithful servant!

A month later, on June 24th, Charles landed on our shores, not however until, on the previous day, in the most formal and unconditional manner, he had accepted the Covenants. During the months which

followed, Argyll and General Leslie and the others, on whom the burden of responsibility chiefly rested, were preparing earnestly for the struggle which was now imminent between the Scottish army and the army of the Commonwealth. On July 22 Cromwell crossed the border, and fighting took place around Edinburgh before the end of the month. The crowning victory won by the English General at Dunbar, on September 3, was viewed by Charles and his immediate friends with more complacency than might have been expected. The opportunity had now arisen of inducing Leslie and Argyll to relax the bonds of discipline, and readmit to the wasted ranks of the army the various classes of Malignants or Engagers, hitherto excluded from it. This attempt was for a time strenuously and successfully resisted, especially by those who were known as the Western Remonstrants. But after a premature rising on the part of Middleton and other noblemen, in which Charles himself had been induced to take part, it was found expedient to issue an Act of Indemnity, and along with this to secure admission to the army of Malignants, who had become reconciled to the Church and were not regarded any longer as "obstinate." This strange

episode, known as "the Start," is referred to in the life of Guthrie, and was strongly condemned by that stalwart Protester.

At length, on January 1, 1651, the long delayed Coronation took place at Scone. After a sermon by Robert Douglas, and a solemn declaration on oath by the King that he would observe the Covenants and rule in accordance with them, the crown was placed on his head by Argyll, while the Earl of Crawford and Lindsay gave him the sceptre. At the close of this solemn and imposing ceremony, the King requested the ministers present that "if in any time coming they did hear or see him breaking the Covenant, they would tell him of it and put him in mind of his oath." It seems uncharitable and unreasonable to suggest that the King had altogether forgotten his father's last advice, and that he had no intention of keeping the oath, which he reluctantly took as the only means of gaining the wished-for end. And yet, read in the light of events which soon emerged, as well as in that of his well-known character, there is reason to think that from first to last the ceremony of that day had been a solemn farce. During the months which followed he busied himself in collecting an

army, and in April, with Leslie and Middleton as lieutenants, he found himself at the head of twenty thousand men, which number was largely increased by June. Outmanœuvred by Cromwell, his only chance of success lay in the invasion of England, which ended in the disastrous defeat at Worcester, on September 3, the anniversary of Dunbar. But, in the words of Osmund Airy, "the knowledge that he was leaving Scotland, the country where he had led so intolerable a life, a life of dreary repression of everything that was consonant with his nature, sent Charles over the border with a light heart. Three months later, when he landed in France, he told the Duke of Orleans that he would rather be hanged than ever again set foot in that hated land!"

Some incidents omitted by Howie have been supplied by other writers, and may with advantage be mentioned now. The first refers to what was promised Argyll, "on the word of a King," in recognition of his services and of the prominent place he occupied in connection with the Coronation. "There were," says Smellie, in his *Men of the Covenant*, "even proposals that the prince should marry the eldest of his

four daughters, Lady Anne Campbell, 'a gentlewoman of rare parts and education.' The scheme came to nothing, for Queen Henrietta Maria would not tolerate it, and Charles himself was not a passionate wooer. But the disenchantment brought sore grief to poor Lady Anne, who 'lossed her spirit and turned absolutely distracted,' and probably the indiscreet plan was remembered at a later time to her father's discredit and undoing. Yet, short of becoming his father-in-law, the King of 1650 and 1651 was prepared to lavish every favour on the powerful noble, whose support he was so keen to win. 'Particularly I doe promis,' he wrote in a letter from St. Johnston, as the city of Perth used to be called, 'that I will mak him Duk of Argyll, and Knight of the Garter, and one of the gentlemen of my bedchamber; and this to be performed when he shall think it fitt. And I doe further promis him to hearken to his counsels; and whensoever it shall pleas God to restor me to my just right in England, I shall see him payed the forty thousand pounds sterling which is due to him. All which I doe promis to mak good, upon the word of a King.'"

Another incident belongs to the same

period, and is connected with Argyll's faithful dealing with Charles, and with the superior insight which the Marchioness had into the true character of that profligate and hypocritical monarch. "After King Charles' coronation," says Wodrow, "when he was in Stirling, the Marquis waited long for an opportunity to deal freely with the King anent his going contrary to the Covenant, and favouring the Malignants, and other sins. And Sabbath night, after supper, he went in with him to his closet, and there used a great deal of freedom with him, and the King was seemingly sensible, and they came that length as to pray and mourn together till two or three in the morning. And when at that time he came home to his Lady, she was surprised and told him she never knew him so untimeous. He said, he had never had such a sweet night in the world, and told her all—what liberty they had in prayer, and how much concerned the King was. She said plainly, they were 'crocodile tears,' and that night would cost him his head."

The last incident refers to the means by which his condemnation was secured when, after long and weary debates extending over several months, Argyll had succeeded so well

in establishing his innocence that even the venal tribunal before which he was arraigned began to feel baffled and perplexed. "The only question," says Mr. Willcock, "was as to whether the various actions summed up in the charge of compliance with the usurpers amounted to treason or not. The debate had just begun, and Argyll's friends were preparing to do their utmost for him, when a packet, brought direct from London by a messenger, was presented to the Lord High Commissioner. As the messenger was a Campbell, the first thought in the minds of many who were present was that he had brought some document in favour of the Marquis—a warrant or letter of remission—which might close the case happily for him. When the packet was opened, it was found to contain private letters written by Argyll to Lilburne and Monck when they were in command of the forces of the English Commonwealth in Scotland, and which the latter, *to his eternal infamy,* had sent down to secure the condemnation of the Marquis." These letters, which Argyll at once acknowledged to be his, were six in number, and were written in the years 1653 and 1654. They showed plainly that, however unwilling he had been at the first to renounce his

allegiance to the Stewarts and approve of the government of the Commonwealth, he had afterwards co-operated with it in suppressing rebellion, and had furnished Cromwell's agents with useful information. This, it is true, had also been done by many of his judges, and by none more than General Monck himself. The letters, however, as has been said, supplied the one argument for which the unjust arbiters in the Parliament House were searching, to excuse the crime which they were pledged to commit. On the evidence of a turncoat, they condemned the truer man at their bar. The sentence of death having been pronounced, he craved a respite of ten days, that he might address a last petition to his King, but even this trifling boon was denied him. Quietly remarking, "I had the honour to set the crown on the King's head, and now he hastens me to a better crown than his own," he then looked around on his cruel and relentless judges and said, "You have the indemnity of an earthly King in your hands, and have denied me a share in that, but you cannot hinder me from the indemnity of the King of kings. Shortly you must be before His tribunal. I pray He mete not out such measure to you as you

have done to me, when you are called to an account for all your actions and this among the rest."

It was Saturday, the 25th of May, 1661, and within two days he was to be beheaded. So long as the trial lasted, he was confined to the Castle, but now he was taken to the Tolbooth, or common prison, where he found the Marchioness awaiting him. "They have given me till Monday to be with you, my dear," he said, "let us make the best of it." Flinging herself into his arms in an agony of weeping, she exclaimed, "The Lord will require it! The Lord will require it." But with marvellous resignation, he calmly remarked, "Forbear, forbear: I pity them. They know not what they are doing. They may shut me in where they please, but they cannot shut God out from me. For my part, I am as content to be here (*i.e.*, the Tolbooth) as in the Castle; and I was as content in the Castle as in the Tower of London; and there as content as when at liberty. And I hope to be as content on the scaffold as in any of them all." He also referred to a text which had been quoted to him by a minister while in the Castle, and which he meant now to put in practice: "When

Ziklag was taken, and burnt, the people spake of stoning David, but *he encouraged himself in the Lord his God.*"

On Monday, when leaving the prison, he turned to those who were in the room, and said, "I could die like a Roman, but I choose rather to die like a Christian. Come away, gentlemen, he that goes first goes cleanliest." On his way downstairs he bade farewell to the Rev. James Guthrie, who was to be executed a few days later. Embracing him most affectionately, the latter remarked: "My Lord, God hath been with you; He is with you; He will be with you still. And such is my respect for your Lordship, that if I were not under sentence of death myself, I would cheerfully die for you." On the scaffold, after prayer by another of his ministerial friends, the Rev. Mr. Hutcheson, the Marquis delivered his farewell speech, in which, among other things, he said: "I come not here to justify myself, but the Lord, who is holy in all His ways and righteous in all His works; holy and reverend is His name! Neither come I to condemn others. I bless the Lord I forgive all men, and desire to be forgiven of the Lord myself. I was cordial in my desire to bring the King home, and in my endeavours for him when

he was at home, and had no correspondence with his enemies, nor had I any hand in his late Majesty's murder. I shall not speak much of these things for which I am condemned, lest I seem to condemn others." After prayer, and bidding an affectionate farewell to the friends who were beside him, he kneeled down, and, laying his head on the block, quietly and without a murmur submitted to the last penalty of the law. His head was fixed on the Tolbooth, Howie observes, "as a monument of the Parliament's injustice, and the land's misery," while his mutilated body was conveyed by friends to Kilmun, and buried there in the family vault.

"They never fail who die
In a great cause! The block may soak their gore;
Their heads may sodden in the sun; their limbs
Be strung to city gates and castle walls:
But still their spirit walks abroad. Though years
Elapse, and others share as dark a doom,
They but augment the deep and sweeping thoughts
Which overpower all others, and conduct
The world at last to Freedom."

Twenty-four years later, his son, the ninth Earl, met with a similar fate and in a similar cause. A well-known picture representing him asleep in prison, immediately before his

execution, has helped to keep his memory alive, but as there is some danger of mistaking him for his father, a few particulars in his life may with advantage be added here. He was born at Dalkeith, on the 26th February, 1629, and was twice married: (1) on 13th May, 1650, to the eldest daughter of the fourth Earl of Moray, by whom he had issue, and who died in May, 1668; and (2) on 28th January, 1670, to Lady Anne Mackenzie, widow of the Earl of Balcarres, and sister-in-law of Sir Robert Moray, the eminent Christian scientist, and first President of the Royal Society. Like his father's, the young Earl's life was an active and troubled one. Having gone to London to intercede for his father, he was cited to appear before the Scottish Parliament and sentenced to death on the ground that his speech and actions had been treasonable. When, however, by a sudden turn in the wheel of fortune, Middleton, the sworn enemy of his house, was replaced by Rothes, as Lord High Commissioner, the sentence was cancelled, and Argyll not only restored to liberty, but raised to high honours in the State. At this time and during Lauderdale's reign, which succeeded that of Rothes, he participated doubtless in many of the

cruel and iniquitous Acts of the Scottish legislature, a fact which helps to explain the suspicion and want of confidence shown him by many of the Covenanters at a subsequent period when he sought their friendship and support. But in 1681, he incurred the displeasure of the Duke of York, who had joined the Romish Church, and was now acting as Royal Commissioner in Scotland. An infamous Test, passed by the Parliament and considered by him to be highly inimical to the Protestant religion, he refused at first to subscribe, and finally did so only with an explanation. This was afterwards made the ground of a criminal process, which ended in a sentence of death. Through the devotion of his wife he succeeded in escaping from the castle in the disguise of a page, and after many wanderings found refuge in Holland, where so many of our exiles were at that time gathered. A few years later, during the Monmouth insurrection, he undertook to raise the standard of rebellion in Scotland, but was finally taken prisoner at Inchinnan and beheaded at the Cross of Edinburgh on the 30th June, 1685.

On the day before his execution he penned the following lines as his epitaph, which were afterwards turned into Latin by

a friend of the historian Wodrow, and may be found in that form also in his *History* (iv., p. 307):—

"Thou passenger that shalt have so much time
To view my grave and ask what was my crime:
No stain of error, no black vice's brand
Was that which chased me from my native land.
Love to my country, twice sentenced to die,
Constrained my hands forgotten arms to try.
More by friends' fraud my fall proceeded hath
Than foes: though now they thrice decreed my death.
On my attempt though Providence did frown,
His oppressed people God at length shall own.
Another hand, by more successful speed,
Shall raise the remnant, bruise the serpent's head.
Though my head fall that is no tragic story
Since going hence I enter endless glory."

To his wife, he sent the following touching farewell from "the laigh Council-house," to which he had been conveyed at noon.

"Dear Heart,—As God is of Himself unchangeable, so He hath been always good and gracious to me, and no place alters it. Only I acknowledge, I am sometimes less capable of a due sense of it. But now, above all my life, I thank God I am sensible of His presence with me, with great assur-

ance of His favour through Jesus Christ, and I doubt not it will continue till I be in glory.

"Forgive me all my faults, and now comfort thyself in Him, in Whom only true comfort is to be found. The Lord be with thee, bless thee, and comfort thee, my dearest. Adieu.

"My dear,

"Thy faithful and loving husband,

"ARGYLL."

According to the sentence, he was to be delivered over to the magistrates at the Castle gate "at 12 o'clock precisely," and by them to be conveyed "to the laigh town council house with a strong guard," where he was to remain till between two and five o'clock in the afternoon, when the execution took place. It was while resting here that he wrote the letter to his wife, and also after dinner enjoyed that quarter of an hour of calm, childlike sleep, which the artist has depicted with marvellous skill and pathos.

An officer had come with a message from the Council, and had timed his visit not to disturb him until dinner was over. On asking to see him, he was told that "his

lordship was taking a nap after dinner, as he used to do," and had left orders that he was not to be disturbed. Remembering his former escape, the officer not unnaturally feared that he was being deceived; and, on insisting, the door of the closet to which he had retired was softly opened, and there he saw the Earl sleeping as calmly as a child. Running across the street to the house of a friend, he threw himself on the bed in great distress: and, when urged to take something to relieve his pain, with which it was thought he had been suddenly seized, "No, no," he said, "that won't help me. I have been in at Argyll and saw him sleeping, as pleasantly as ever a man did, within an hour of eternity, but as for me . . .!" "This account," adds Wodrow, "I have from unquestionable hands, and it affords a charming view of the power of religion and a peaceful conscience in the greatest of shocks, and may let us in to the inward horror and stings of mind some of the persecutors had from an unseen hand, when they had nothing to fear from men."

JAMES GUTHRIE.

JAMES GUTHRIE.

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JAMES GUTHRIE.

GUTHRIE CASTLE in Forfarshire, an old baronial mansion charmingly situated within half a mile of Guthrie Junction, was the home of this famous martyr, afterwards minister of Stirling, who was executed at Edinburgh, on 1st June, 1661. His cousin, William, who was born in 1620, and became widely known as the minister of Fenwick and author of *The Christian's Great Interest*, was the son of a younger brother of James's father, and lived at Pitforthie in the same neighbourhood. James was the elder of the two, and doubtless exercised considerable influence over his cousin even in boyhood. This increased when the latter was old enough to attend the University; for by that time James had become assistant Professor at St. Andrews, and William enjoyed the singular privilege of lodging with his cousin, and being daily impressed not

merely by his sincerity and devotion of spirit, but by his superior strength and courage.

The times were most eventful, and well fitted to quicken the pulse, and warm and purify the blood of even the most sluggish nature. A few miles from St. Andrews stands the beautiful church of Leuchars, where Alexander Henderson was minister. This was he who had a special hand in the framing of the National Covenant of 1638, and who, in November of that year, presided as Moderator over the General Assembly at Glasgow. It is true that St. Andrews shares with Aberdeen and Crail the unenviable notoriety of being one of the only three burghs, which refused to send Commissioners to Edinburgh the previous February in connection with the signing of the Covenant. But even in that old University town, one of the chief strongholds of Prelacy, a day of humiliation was observed, in obedience to the Church's command, two months later, and from what Baillie says in a letter of date April 5, 1638, "St. Andrews itself, we hear, for the most part has subscribed," we are justified in inferring that Henderson, to whom the principal part in the services of that day had

been assigned, had not spoken and testified in vain.

Probably the struggle in James Guthrie's case was both long and severe, before he agreed to adhibit his name to the memorable document. In his youth "he was Prelatic and strong for the Ceremonies," and one of his Bishop's daughters, who had kindled a flame of love in his heart, and around whose person a flavour of romance still lingers, must have made the Church, and all it stood for, more attractive in his eyes. Gradually, however, another fire was kindled there which had a more vehement flame, and, constrained by the love of Christ, he could no longer refuse to identify himself with those who were willing to do and to dare all things in defence of the crown rights of the Redeemer. On his way to subscribe the Covenant, by a curious coincidence he met the town's hangman, "which did move him somewhat and made him walk up and down a little before he went forward"! But this hesitation was only momentary, and soon, turning his back on all worldly attractions, and overcoming even the fear of death, he finally decided that, whatever the consequences, he must follow Christ. To this decision he was much helped by the weekly

meetings for prayer and conference which had been commenced at the University, and by the friendship of Samuel Rutherford. This saintly man had recently been appointed to the Chair of Divinity in St. Andrews and to one of the city churches, and already his influence over both students and professors had become remarkable. William Guthrie is frequently referred to as one of the first fruits of his ministry, and, when writing to him in later years, Rutherford subscribed himself as "Your own brother in one common Lord and Saviour." That James, too, felt the charm of his teaching and character, appears certain, from the fact, as stated by Howie, that his change of attitude in relation to the questions of the day was largely due to his conversations with Samuel Rutherford and others. This, of course, was disappointing to his Episcopal friends, one of whom remarks that "if he had continued fixed to his first principles, he had been a star of the first magnitude in Scotland." Referring himself to this period of his life, he told the Parliament, two months before he died, that his religious views had been adopted only after long and serious consideration. "I am not ashamed to give glory to God," he said, "that until the year

1638 I was treading other steps, and the Lord did then graciously recover me out of the snare of Prelacy, Ceremonies, and the Service Book." Was it the recollection of his own experience that made him enter so sympathetically into the thoughts and feelings of James Wodrow, the father of the historian, during his intercourse with him in prison on the eve of his execution? Wodrow at that time was a young man of twenty-three or twenty-four, and, from one cause or another, was hesitating as to his duty to enter the ministry. This we learn from an incident in the life of Robert Blair, Samuel Rutherford's colleague at St. Andrews, who, in urging him to apply for licence, said: "Be not discouraged: your timidity will gradually lessen: and although it should not entirely wear off, yet it will not mar you;" adding, in a more familiar strain, "I'se tell you for your encouragement, I have been now nearly forty years in the ministry, and the third bell scarce ever begins to toll when I am to preach, but my heart plays dunt, dunt, dunt." After all, these old Worthies were men of like passions as ourselves, and the same grace, which made them willing to go to the

scaffold and the stake, secured for them the victory over their natural infirmities.

Guthrie was a man of strong passions and principles, "a man of contention and sorrow," as he said in his speech from the scaffold, though the things he contended for were not his own, but those of Jesus Christ. Like other strong and resolute men, however, he was liable to become overbearing and assertive, and, knowing this, he was careful to restrain his passions and let his moderation be known unto all men. Thus we are told that, even in early life, when in controversy he felt that he was losing self-control, or that others were becoming irritated, he was wont to say, "Enough of this: let us turn to some other subject; we are warm, and can dispute no longer with advantage."

On the occasion referred to above, Wodrow's interview with Guthrie left on his mind a deep and salutary impression, and doubtless helped to prepare him for his long and useful service, first, as theological tutor during the persecuting period, and later, as one of the ministers of Glasgow, and as Professor of Divinity at the University in that city.

Though Guthrie's name appears to have

been placed on the list of probationers, or "of those ready for ecclesiastical vacancies," in December, 1638, he had to wait several years before he received an appointment to a settled charge. Doubtless this waiting time was good for him, as it has been for many others since, for it was during this interval that he enjoyed those opportunities of being influenced by Rutherford, to which reference was made above. At length, in 1642, having passed his ordination trials to the satisfaction of the Presbytery, he was formally settled as minister of Lauder, in Berwickshire, where he remained for seven years.

It must be difficult for anyone to form a correct idea of the condition of the parish as it was then, however careful he may be to acquaint himself with existing facts and experiences. Even a hundred years later, on the testimony of the late Rev. Henry G. Graham, life in a country manse was extremely simple and unpretentious. The manse was usually a small thatched house, with a kailyard in front, the narrow windows being only half-glazed, and giving to the inmates at best a dim religious light. The stipend was small, and often hard to get, though fortunately the outlay for ordinary

expenses was on the same low level as the income. Thus, the women's wages were from £5 to £6 Scots in the half year, or from eight to ten shillings sterling, while the minister's man would get no more than £7 Scots, with a pair of shoes and "a sark." We have failed to discover the date of Guthrie's marriage, or even if it preceded his translation to Stirling; but from what we learn of his excellent wife, who was a daughter of Ramsay of Shielhill, we feel sure that, whether in the country or the city, she would do her best to make ends meet, also to make her husband comfortable, and thus help, and not hinder him in his work. His letter to her on the day of his execution affords ample evidence of her lowly piety and supreme devotion to duty. He there speaks of her as "a very kind and faithful yokefellow, and not a hinderer but a helper in the work of the Lord. In all the trials I have met with in the work of the ministry these twenty years past, which have not been few and that from aggressors of many sorts upon the right hand and upon the left, you were never a tempter of me to depart away from the living God, and from the way of my duty to comply with an evil course or to hearken to the counsels

of flesh and blood. . . . . You have wrought much with your hands for furnishing bread to me and to my children, and was always willing that I should show hospitality, especially to those that bore the image of God."

His work, of course, would keep him not only in his study and pulpit, but would take him out amid the beauties of nature and the toils and hardships of country life. The parish, in point of area, is the largest in Berwickshire, being twelve or thirteen miles in length, with an average breadth of about five miles. It is bounded on the west by Stow and Melrose, and on the north by the Lammermoor hills, one of which, the highest in the parish, is about 1500 feet above the sea. According to the last census returns, the present population, including that of Lauder itself, is 1,461, but in Guthrie's time it was probably larger, as in 1775 it amounted to 1,795, and in 1791 to 2,000. The district is remarkable for its beauty, and offers many attractions to such as are in search of rest and recreation.

> "Fair Lauderdale! thy charms invite
> Poetic gift and Fancy's sight,
> Alike combined, to make them known—
> Those charms in rich profusion strewn."

The Lauder Water or Leader, one of the tributaries of the Tweed, which traverses the parish, and on which the town of Lauder is situated, was once, at least, renowned for its excellent trout, while moor and hill, which form a large part of the parish, offer attractions of another sort to the tourist and the sportsman. In such surroundings, Guthrie's cousin from Fenwick would often have been seen with rod in hand or gun on shoulder, ready also at any moment to speak a word for his Master, and to promote the spiritual interests of his people. If the young minister of Lauder ever indulged in such diversions, no tradition to that effect lingers around the place, and it is more than probable that, like the Laird of Cockpen in the song, his mind was so much taken up with other matters, as to leave but little time or taste for those.

It has been said that, while God made the country and man made the city, the devil made the country town. Whether this saying applies to the ancient and royal burgh of Lauder, we cannot say; but doubtless there were then, among its inhabitants, as still, habits of thought, speech, and behaviour with which the minister, as a true servant of his Master, had to wage con-

tinual conflict. His church and manse have long since disappeared, the present parish church dating from 1673, while the present manse was built in 1812. Guthrie's church stood on the north of the town, fronting Thirlstane Castle, the seat of the Earl of Lauderdale, and was closely associated with the Lauder tragedy of 1482, having been the meeting-place of Angus, Argyll, and other noblemen who formed the plan of getting rid of Cochrane and other low-born favourites of James III. A very old tree in front of the castle marks the spot where the kirk then stood, and where, at the meeting just mentioned, the question was asked, "Who'll bell the cat?" This duty having fallen to Douglas, Earl of Angus, afterwards known as "Archibald, Bell the Cat," Cochrane and the other favourites of the King were immediately seized and hanged in his presence over Lauder bridge. The "auld brig" has also long since disappeared, but its site is still pointed out a little to the south-east of the castle, a seventeenth century house with a tower built by Edward I. during his invasion of Scotland.

John Maitland, Earl of Lauderdale, was apparently in warmest sympathy with the

Presbyterians, though afterwards, as the Duke of Lauderdale, he became one of their worst enemies. Just about this time, he was sent as a Commissioner to the Westminster Assembly, and we cannot doubt that he was one of Guthrie's friends and supporters, and that probably it was through his influence that the call had been obtained. Two years after his ordination, Guthrie was appointed a member of the General Assembly, and received from the kirk session (15th May, 1644) the sum of £15 Scots towards the expenses of his attendance. In 1646, he was one of several Commissioners sent by Parliament to confer with the King at Newcastle, and for this purpose received a letter of recommendation from the Assembly, of which this year also he was a member. The year 1649, however, left a still more conspicuous mark upon him, as on the 10th of January he preached before Parliament, and, a few days later, before the Parliamentary Commission for the visitation of the University of St. Andrews, and on 13th July preached again before the Parliamentary Commission for the visitation of Edinburgh University. Finally, in November of the same year, he was translated to the first charge in Stirling, with which he remained

in close connection until the close of his ministry.

During these years, events of the greatest moment followed one another in rapid succession in other parts of the land. In England, the Court of High Commission and the "Star-Chamber," which for many years, in the hands of Laud and Strafford, had been the main instruments of oppression, were both abolished. These two evil counsellors of the King, moreover, were imprisoned and finally executed, Strafford on the 12th May, 1641, and Laud on the 10th January, 1645. Prelacy was also declared to be inconsistent with civil and religious liberty, and an Assembly of Divines met at Westminster from 1643 to 1647 to prepare the Confession of Faith and Catechisms, Larger and Shorter, and to complete the reformation of religion in the land. Meanwhile open war had been declared between the King and Parliament, and for many years

> "the waves
> Of the mysterious death-river moaned;
> The tramp, the shout, the fearful thunder-roar
> Of red breathed cannon, and the wailing cry
> Of myriad victims filled the air."

One of the bloodiest battles of the war was fought at Marston Moor, near York, on the

2nd August, 1644, and was gained by the united forces of the Scots under Alexander Leslie and the Parliamentary army under Cromwell. At Naseby, too, on the 14th June, 1645, the Royalists were again routed, and the only ray of comfort left to the King was in the rapid and dashing exploits of the Marquis of Montrose. Two victories which the latter gained, (1) at Inverlochy over Argyll, and (2) at Kilsyth, seemed to promise the return of better days for Charles. But a month later there occurred the crushing and irretrievable defeat at Philiphaugh, near Selkirk, and within six months, on the 27th April, 1646, the King in disguise rode from Oxford, and took refuge with the Scottish army at Newark in Nottinghamshire. By the royal orders, Newark was given up to the Scots, and immediately thereafter their army marched northwards to Newcastle-on-Tyne, accompanied by the King, who was now virtually a prisoner in their custody.

While here, as already mentioned, Guthrie was one of the ministers selected for attendance upon the King. This appointment may be considered as a high compliment to one, who as yet occupied so humble a sphere as a country parish could offer, and who had

been so short a time in the ministry. But already it was manifest that he was a man of no ordinary gifts and attainments, and that ere long he would take his place in the very front rank, as one of the leaders of the Church.

This occurred sooner almost than might have been expected or wished, and was due to an unhappy dispute which now divided the Church, and produced the most mischievous results both in the Church and in the State. The origin of the dispute goes back to the year 1647, when, after difficult and intricate negotiations, Charles was delivered up to the English Parliament, and after an attempt to escape from Hampton Court was taken and committed as a prisoner to Carisbrooke Castle in the Isle of Wight. While there, a secret treaty was framed between him and representatives from Scotland, in which he agreed under certain conditions to accept the Solemn League and Covenant, and to establish Presbyterianism for three years in England. This treaty, known as the "Engagement," though approved by the Scottish Parliament, was rejected and condemned by the Commission of Assembly, which instructed every minister to preach against it, and to use his utmost

influence to prevent the Marquis of Hamilton's expedition for the relief of the King from proving successful. The defeat of his army at Preston, while it extinguished the hopes of his party, widened the breach which had now been made in the once united ranks of the Covenanters. Two parties were formed, which regarded one another with unconcealed hostility — the Engagers, so called from the Engagement which Hamilton had made with the King, and the Remonstrants or strict Covenanters who were under the leadership of Warriston and Argyll. This breach was still further widened by an Act of the Scottish Parliament, known as the "Act of Classes," according to which the various ranks of Malignants or Engagers were declared incapable of holding any office of public trust or employment, whether in Church or in State. The first result of this Act was to throw the management of public affairs into the hands of those who were afterwards defeated by Cromwell at Dunbar. By and by, when the Engagers returned to power, the Act of Classes was repealed, and a new army was levied which, to a large extent, was officered and filled by men who were regarded as unfaithful to the Covenant. In

favour of this proceeding, however, the Church, forsaking the higher sphere, issued certain *Resolutions*, which were strenuously *protested* against by a large and influential minority. Such was the origin of the controversy between the Resolutioners and Protesters, which raged with unabated animosity for many years, and was followed with most disastrous consequences alike to the Scottish Church and nation.

From the first, Guthrie ranged himself amongst the Protesters, and, indeed, was generally regarded as one of their principal leaders. By this time he had been translated to Stirling, where he had, as his colleague, Mr. Bennett, a man of kindred spirit, with whom, on the questions of the day, he was generally in agreement. Not satisfied with expressing in a letter to the Commission of Assembly their dissatisfaction with the aforesaid Resolutions, they continued to preach against them and to denounce them as involving the nation in sin. For this they were cited to appear before the Committee of Estates at Perth, where Charles was now holding his Court, and, having done so, they refused to acknowledge the King's right to interfere with them in the discharge of their ministerial functions.

"This our protestation," they said, "we make, not from any disrespect to the King's Majesty or your Lordships' authority, nor from any purpose to decline or disobey the same in anything civil, but from the tender regard which we have and owe unto the liberties and privileges of the Church of Jesus Christ, which both the King's Majesty and your Lordships and we are in so solemn a way bound to maintain and preserve inviolable."

An echo this of Andrew Melville's words to King James VI., and revealing the same indomitable spirit. After some delay and inconvenience, against which they also protested, he and his colleague were dismissed without rebuke, though at his last trial, contrary to law and justice, the charge of disobedience and disloyalty was once more brought up against him.

Another incident, however, which had even a closer connection with his death, was his faithful dealing with the Earl of Middleton when guilty of conspiracy. Appointed by the Commission of Assembly to read from his own pulpit the sentence of excommunication, he was met on his way to church by a messenger from the Committee of Estates, requesting him not to proceed

further in the matter. The hour had just arrived for worship, and for a moment the minister was at a loss what to do. But his wife, who seems to have been of an equally courageous spirit, quietly said, "Dear Heart, what the Lord gives you clearness to do, that do." Accordingly, the Assembly's sentence was pronounced, and Middleton, who afterwards sat in judgment on him, was never able either to forget this, or to forgive him.

There were others, besides the Royalists and Resolutioners, whose principles he disowned, and towards whom he was most uncompromising. There were the Sectaries, as he calls them—the Independents, or Congregationalists, as we know them—who, under the government of the Commonwealth, assumed a place and importance hitherto unknown. Of these, Cromwell was, of course, the chief and representative. During a conference in Glasgow, in 1651, between him and the ministers, Guthrie and Patrick Gillespie represented the Presbyterians, and particularly the Protesters, and ever after, when Cromwell referred to it, or when James Guthrie's name was mentioned, he spoke of him as "that short man who could not bow."

And yet, on the testimony of those who came into closest contact with him, he was

remarkable for his humility and generous consideration of the thoughts and feelings of others. James Cowie, "the minister's man," who acted as precentor, beadle, and scribe, maintained that he kept his personal religion as fresh as if "he had been but a young convert." Isabel Dougal, the maid servant in the manse, and who afterwards married "the minister's man," had much to relate in after years of her master's kindness and courtesy. When she and James were married, he insisted that he must give the bride away; and in the Tolbooth, while James Cowie was writing to his dictation, the prisoner said, "I have one other letter for choice Christian friends, although I know not who they are." Then, as the secretary penned the glowing sentences, the mystery flashed on their author's mind. "James," he cried, "it is to your wife and you that I must send this letter." Entitled by rank, and education, and by the position he occupied in the Church, to hold intercourse on equal terms with the highest and most honourable in the land, he was glad to count these humble dependents among his dearest friends, and to leave them some farewell words of encouragement and hope as his last legacy of love.

On the 23rd of August, 1660, the year of the Restoration, he and other nine ministers, with two elders, were engaged at Edinburgh in drawing up an address to the King, when, without warning, they were seized, and, within a few hours, all, with the exception of one who escaped, were lodged in the Castle. In this address, while claiming freedom for themselves and their brethren in the discharge of their spiritual functions, and reminding the King of the oath he took at the time of his coronation to remain faithful to the Covenant, they also prayed for the safety of His Majesty's person, and the establishment of his Government. "It is the desire of our souls," they said, "that your Majesty may be like unto David, a man according unto God's own heart; like unto Solomon, of an understanding heart to judge the Lord's people and to discern betwixt good and bad; like unto Jehoshaphat, whose heart was lifted up in the ways of the Lord; like unto Hezekiah, eminent for goodness and integrity; like unto Josias, who was of a tender heart, and did humble himself before God, when he heard His words against Jerusalem and Judah and the inhabitants thereof, and not only made a covenant before the Lord, to walk after the Lord and

to keep His Commandments with all his heart and with all his soul, to perform the words of the covenant, but also caused all that were in Jerusalem and Benjamin to stand to it, and took away all the abominations out of all the countries that pertained to the children of Israel, and made all that were present in Israel to serve, even to serve the Lord their God. So shall your Majesty inherit the honour and blessings of these kings upon the earth and their happiness in heaven. So shall your Majesty's person be preserved and your government established over these kingdoms."

Doubtless it was unpleasant for Charles and for those who were now in authority to be so urgently reminded of their Covenant engagements. But to treat men who could utter such sentiments as guilty of disloyalty and treason, and to deprive them of their liberty and lives is sufficient evidence of the madness which characterised this reign of riot and misrule, and which, after untold miseries, drove the Stuart family into exile and changed the dynasty of these realms.

On the 19th September, a proclamation was issued against two books, affirming the authors, printers, and dispensers of them to be rebellious and seditious persons, and de-

claring that all and everyone who, after the 15th of October, shall have any copies of them, shall not only be esteemed enemies of the King, but punished accordingly in their persons and estates. One of these books was *Lex Rex*, by Samuel Rutherford, and is now generally understood to contain the principles of all true constitutional government. Its author had not far to travel till he reached the glory of Emmanuel's Land; and when, a few months later, he was cited to answer for the crime of treason, "Tell them," he said, "that I have a summons already from a superior Judge and Judicatory, and I behove to answer my first summons; and ere your day arrives I shall be where few kings and great folks come."

The other book was by Guthrie, and is entitled *Causes of God's Wrath.* It subsequently found a place in his indictment, and was defended by him from the charge of disloyalty, either expressed or implied. From Edinburgh Castle, he was transferred to Stirling, where, and in Dundee, he remained in confinement till early in the following year, when he was brought back to Edinburgh for trial. His indictment was served on him on February 7th, and two weeks later he appeared for the first time before Par-

liament, which was presided over by the Earl of Middleton, and is known henceforth as The Drunken Parliament. "It was," says Bishop Burnet, who was then in Scotland and well acquainted with public affairs, "a mad, roaring time, full of extravagance; and no wonder it was so, when men of affairs were almost perpetually drunk."

In February, and again in April, Guthrie spoke in his defence, and on both occasions with so much sweet reasonableness and courage, that had his judges been impartial and at liberty to exercise their judgment, he might possibly have escaped. But Middleton had never forgiven him for the sentence pronounced ten years before from his pulpit at Stirling, and some, who were unwilling to vote for his death, found relief to their consciences and feelings, by slipping away before the vote was taken. Only the Earl of Tweeddale seems to have had the courage to plead for a milder penalty, and for this he himself became suspected, and had to suffer imprisonment for nine months.

At last, in a thin house, the sentence of death was pronounced with its many degrading and aggravating accompaniments. He was to be hanged at the Cross on

Saturday, the 1st of June; his head was to be fixed on the Netherbow, where it remained till near the Revolution, when it was taken down and buried by a friendly hand; his estate was to be confiscated, and his family crest torn and obliterated.

But none of these things moved him, neither counted he his life dear unto him that he might finish his course with joy, and the ministry which he had received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God. "My Lord," he said, as he drew his April speech to a close, "My conscience I cannot submit, but this old, crazy body and mortal flesh I do submit, to do with it whatsoever you will, whether by death or banishment or imprisonment or anything else." While to his sorrowing but noble wife he remarked, after hearing the terms of his sentence, that he was more fortunate than the Marquis of Argyll, for, he added, "My Lord was beheaded, but I am to be hanged on a tree as my Saviour was."

During the time which elapsed between his sentence and execution, he was visited by many friends, and was greatly comforted by a letter he received, in which the following sentences occurred :—

"The buried cause of Christ shall live in your death, and what all your contendings for it, while you were alive, could not do, your blood shall do when you are gone. The Lord seemeth now to be about to set up and fix his standard for a while in the blood and sufferings of his servants and people, it may be of all ranks and sorts of persons within the land. . . . I shall say no more, but that I cannot pass the mentioning of that Scripture, which hath been often in my mind concerning you, and which I remember you once told me was borne in upon your mind, amidst some of these former conflicts you have been essayed with before it came to this: 'I have made thee this day a defenced city and a brazen wall, and they shall fight against thee but they shall not prevail against thee, for I am with thee to deliver thee, saith the Lord.' I confess I would have fain drawn forth the performance of that promise to a longer life for you and more work therein. But God hath performed it well. You have had very great and undeniable performances of it already, and now the best is at hand. Within a little it shall be said, they have got the foil, and you the victory; and no wonder, for He is still with you to deliver you."

His cousin, the minister of Fenwick, would fain have been with him at the last, but was prevented by the earnest entreaties of his Session, who represented to him the danger to which this would expose so valuable a life. At this time he was himself an object of suspicion, having taken a prominent part at the April meeting of Synod in Glasgow in preparing an address to Parliament, in which a faithful testimony was given to the purity of our Reformation—so faithful, indeed, that the Synod deemed it inexpedient to present it. The cousins, however, met before the close of the trial, and as William seemed unusually melancholy, James jocularly remarked, "A penny for your thoughts!" "There is a poor man at the door," said William, "give him the penny; but now, I'll tell you, cousin, what I am not only thinking on, but am sure of, if not under a delusion. The malignants will be your death, and this gravel will be mine; but you will have the advantage of me. For you will die honourably before many witnesses with a rope about your neck, and I will die, whining upon a pickle straw, and will endure more pain before I rise from the table than all the pain you will have in your death."

To the mind of the minister of Fenwick, his cousin's death was already a foregone conclusion, and one almost to be desired!

On the evening before the execution, after dictating a number of letters, James Guthrie signed and sealed these himself, the seal bearing the family crest, after which turning it round and thereby obliterating the impression, he observed, "I have no more to do with coats of arms."

After supper, which he heartily enjoyed, he retired to rest and slept soundly till sunrise, when, in answer to James Cowie's enquiry how he was, he cheerfully replied, "Very well," adding after a pause the truly significant words, "This is the day which the Lord hath made, let us rejoice and be glad in it." Once before, during an illness at Stirling, which threatened to prove fatal, at his own request the ninth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans was read. On hearing the words: "I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will have compassion on whom I will have compassion," he burst into tears, saying, "I have nothing else to lippen to," thereby indicating his entire dependence on God's free and sovereign grace. A similar spirit now animated and supported him in the near presence of death.

OLD TOLBOOTH, EDINBURGH.

Facing page 155.

Before leaving the prison he wrote a touching letter to his wife, closing with these words:—

"My Heart! I recommend you to the eternal love of Jesus Christ. I am helped by God, and hope I shall be helped to the end. Pray for me while I am here, and praise with me hereafter. God be with you!

"I am,

"Yours,

"JAMES GUTHRIE.

"Edinburgh Tolbooth,
"June 1, 1661."

Having come to the place of execution, and standing on the ladder where he could be easily seen by the crowd, he delivered his last speech with the greatest composure, in the course of which these words occurred, "My corruptions have been strong and many, and have made me a sinner in all things, yea, even in following my duty: and therefore righteousness have I none of my own; all is vile. But I do believe that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners, whereof I am chief. Through faith in His righteousness and blood have I obtained mercy; and through Him and Him

alone have I the hope of a blessed conquest and victory over sin and Satan and hell and death, and that I shall attain unto the resurrection of the just, and be made partaker of eternal life. I know whom I have believed, and that He is able to keep that which I have committed to Him against that day."

Burnet was among the spectators, and was much impressed by his calmness and courage, and by the dogged resolution with which he adhered to his Testimony, and refused to retract anything he had formerly said or done. This bears out completely the formal declaration made before leaving the prison, and duly subscribed by him in the presence of four witnesses. "I saw him suffer," says Burnet. "He was so far from showing any fear, that he rather expressed a contempt of death. He spoke an hour upon the ladder with the composedness of one that was delivering a sermon rather than his last words. He justified all he had done, and exhorted all people to adhere to the Covenant, which he magnified highly."

His speech being ended, and the executioner being ready, the martyr's voice was heard once more. Lifting the napkin from his face, he cried with a loud voice, "The

Covenants, the Covenants shall yet be Scotland's reviving."

"Thus fell," says old John Howie, "the faithful Mr. James Guthrie, who was properly the first who suffered unto death, in that period, for asserting the kingly prerogative of Jesus Christ in opposition to Erastian supremacy. He was a man honoured of God to be zealous and singularly faithful in carrying on the work of Reformation, and had carried himself straight under all changes of revolutions; and because he had been such, he must live no longer. He did much for the interest of the King in Scotland, of which the King no doubt was sensible. When he got notice of his death, he said with some warmth, 'And what have you done with Mr. Patrick Gillespie?' He was answered that, having so many friends in the House, his life could not be taken. 'Well,' said the King, 'if I had known you would have spared Mr. Gillespie, I would have spared Mr. Guthrie.'"

A copy of his last speech was subscribed and sealed in the prison for delivery to his four years old boy, Willie, on reaching the years of understanding. Taking him on his knee during a last interview with him, and giving him such advice as was suited to his

age, he added, "Willie, though your comrades should cast it up to you that your father was hanged, think not shame of it, for it is in a good cause." There is a story told of this boy, who in later years became "a most serious seeker after God," that he used to run out and stand before the City gate and gaze for a while at his father's face, and then return and tell his mother what he had been doing, and forthwith lock himself in a room, from which all her efforts could not draw him for many hours. From the *Records of the Privy Council* we learn that this widowed mother and her daughter, Sophia, were imprisoned in 1666 for having in their possession a copy of a proscribed book, *The Apologetical Relation,* and on refusing to declare what they knew regarding the author or the person from whom they received it, were banished to the Shetland Isles, "there to remain during His Majesty's pleasure," and to be "kept close prisoners till they were sent there."

Perhaps the authorities thought they were treating them kindly by allowing them to escape with their lives. If so, we can only say that the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel. To visit women with imprisonment and exile, whose only crime had been

the possession of a book which professed to contain an authentic narrative of "the particular sufferings of the faithful Ministers and Professors of the Church of Scotland since August, 1660," and therefore of the sufferings and death of one to whom they were so closely related, was surely a perversion of law and justice sufficient to expose the perpetrators thereof to the severe judgment of God. But this was the year of the Pentland Rising, when Middleton's successor, the Earl of Rothes, was beside himself with rage, and, swearing that he would probe the conspiracy to the bottom, put Hugh M'Kail, the talented and saintly son of the parish minister of Bothwell, to the torture, and then sent him to the scaffold in his bruised and mangled condition. For such, however, death had no terror, and this young minister's farewell words became the swan-song of many who followed in the long procession of the martyrs:—"Farewell, father and mother, friends and relations! Farewell, the world and all delights! Farewell, meat and drink! Farewell, sun, moon, and stars! Welcome, God and Father! Welcome, sweet Lord Jesus, the Mediator of the New Covenant! Welcome, blessed Spirit of grace, God of all consolation! Welcome,

glory! Welcome, eternal life! Welcome, death!"

"Behold, what witnesses unseen
Encompass us around;
Men, once like us, with suffering tried,
But now with glory crowned.

"Let us, with zeal like theirs inspired,
Begin the Christian race,
And, freed from each encumbering weight,
Their holy footsteps trace.

"Behold a Witness, nobler still,
Who trod affliction's path,
Jesus, at once the Finisher
And Author of our faith."

"After this I beheld, and lo! a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations and kindreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands, and cried with a loud voire, saying, Salvation to our God, which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb. And all the angels stood round about the throne, and *about* the elders, and the four beasts, and fell before the throne on their faces, and worshipped God: saying, Amen: Blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honour, and power, and might,

be unto our God for ever and ever. Amen. And one of the elders answered, saying unto me, What are these which are arrayed in white robes? and whence came they? And I said unto him, Sir, thou knowest. And he said to me, These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. Therefore are they before the throne of God, and serve Him day and night in His temple: and He that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among them. They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more; neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat. For the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of water; and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes."—(Rev. vii., 9-17.)

SIR
ARCHIBALD JOHNSTON,
LORD WARRISTON.

SIR ARCHIBALD JOHNSTON, LORD WARRISTON.

At that memorable scene, in Greyfriars, Edinburgh, on the last day of February, 1638, one man's voice was heard above the rest as he read aloud the words of the Covenant. This was Archibald Johnston, a young Edinburgh lawyer, who was destined to become one of the best-known and most influential men in the kingdom, and to rule and guide the councils of the nation.

Born in Edinburgh, in or about the year 1611, he had early won for himself a high reputation, partly on account of his family connections, but mainly as the reward of his own remarkable ability. His father was one of the Annandale Johnstons, who appears to have prospered in trade and became a merchant burgess of the Capital, while his mother was the second daughter of Sir

Thomas Craig of Riccarton, the well-known advocate and the author of a treatise on Feudal Law. In early years he was a pupil of Baillie, whose letters convey so vivid a picture of Covenanting times and who subsequently became minister of Kilwinniug and Principal of Glasgow College. Young Johnston therefore had many advantages, compared with other young men of his day, and when, to those already named, we mention this additional fact, that his mother was an eminent Christian and a zealous Presbyterian, we see already the elements out of which his future career was fashioned. Having taken his degree in Glasgow, he was admitted to the Bar on the 3rd November, 1633, and soon afterwards he improved his prospects still farther by marrying a Judge's daughter, the daughter of Lord Foresterseat, and settling down in an Edinburgh home. In 1637, during the conflict between the King and the Scottish nation, which had now reached a critical stage, he was in entire sympathy with the people, and when the permanent Committees of their best and ablest men were appointed, known afterwards as the "Tables," he became Clerk and Secretary to the Central Table, which consisted of four deputies from each of the

others, and which conducted all negotiations with the Privy Council. In this capacity he had an active hand in negotiating the treaties of Berwick and Ripon, which brought to an end the first and second Bishops' war, and during the King's visit to Edinburgh, in 1641, he received the honour of knighthood, and became also one of the Lords of Session, under the title of Lord Warriston. Before this, however, at the Glasgow Assembly, in November, 1638, he had been unanimously appointed Clerk, "a nonsuch of a Clerk," as Baillie quaintly remarks, and as he afterwards proved himself to be ; and at the close of the Assembly's proceedings he was also appointed Procurator, with a general control over the publications to be issued on its behalf. Two years later, they voted him a yearly salary of a thousand merks, or about £50 ; while, later still, he became King's Advocate, and received an annual pension of £200. In 1643 he entered Parliament as Commissioner for Midlothian, and was on all its important Committees, while a fortnight later he was appointed one of the eight Scottish Commissioners to the Assembly of Divines which met at Westminster, and, in addition to other work, prepared the Confession of Faith and Catechisms, Larger and

Shorter, which now form our subordinate standards. Thus, in both civil and ecclesiastical affairs, during this confused and agitating period, Lord Warriston was always to the front, and few, if any, were better known throughout the land and more confidently trusted than he.

As one of the Commissioners of the Westminster Assembly, Hetherington in his *History* has contrasted him with one of his fellow-Commissioners, Lord Maitland, who was destined to become his open and relentless enemy. Both gave regular attendance, we are told, and took deep interest in the proceedings. "At that time," says Hetherington, "Lord Maitland appeared to be very zealous in the cause of religious reformation, and a thorough Presbyterian; but, as afterwards appeared, his zeal was more of a political than of a religious character. After the restoration of Charles II., he conformed to Prelacy, became the chief adviser of that monarch in Scottish affairs, received the title of Duke of Lauderdale, and is too well known in Scottish history as a ruthless and bloody persecutor. Johnston of Warriston was in heart and soul a Covenanter on religious, not political, principles, from which he never swerved. . . . He was a man of great

strength and clearness of intellect, fervidly eloquent in speech and of inflexible integrity."

Once in 1646 he made a speech in this Assembly, which was long remembered as an eloquent and uncompromising defence of Presbyterianism, and of the Church's freedom and independence in all spiritual matters. "We must not," he said, "before men, mince, hold up, or conceal anything necessary for this testimony. . . . We must not flinch for one hour, nor quit one hoof, nor edge away a hem of Christ's robe royal. . . . Remember the account we have to make to Him who subjects the standing or falling of His crown in this island to our debate. . . . He will have it thoroughly pled and judged betwixt His kingdom and the kingdoms of the earth. And seeing He has begun to conquer, He will prevail over all that stand in His way, whether Pope, King or Parliament, that will claim any part of headship, supreme prerogative, or monarchy over His Church."

After the death of Charles I. he was present officially when his son was proclaimed at Edinburgh on February 5, 1649, and yet he distrusted the character of Charles II. so much that, as far as possible,

he held aloof from the lengthened and painful negotiations which preceded his coronation, and which reflect so little credit on either side. On the 10th March, 1649, he was appointed Lord Clerk Register, and in this capacity became custodier of all public documents. He was also with David Leslie and the Scottish army at Dunbar, and according to his nephew, Bishop Burnet, was one of those responsible for Leslie's fatal abandonment of his strong position on Doon Hill, which Baillie represents as made against Leslie's own wish, and which made Cromwell exclaim, "The Lord hath delivered them into our hands." After the battle he is said to have had several interviews with Cromwell, and on the surrender of Edinburgh Castle they corresponded about the public Writs and Registers which had fallen into the hands of the English. In Carlyle's edition of Cromwell's letters (iii., 127), there is one addressed "to the Honourable Archibald Johnston, Lord Register of Scotland." It runs as follows :—

"EDINBURGH, 12th April, 1651.

"MY LORD,—Upon the perusal of the Passes formerly given for the safe passing of the Public Writs and Registers of the

Kingdom of Scotland, I do think they ought to be restored. And they shall be so to such persons as you shall appoint to receive them—with Passes for persons and vessels to carry them to such place as shall be appointed: so that it be done within one month next following.

"I herewith send you a Pass for your servant to go into Fife, and to return with the other Clerks; and rest, your servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."

The ship in which the Public Registers were being conveyed from Leith to Stirling had been seized by the English, but in accordance with the original agreement, and as the result of this correspondence, was now set free. "Without doubt," says Carlyle, "the Public Writs were all re-delivered, according to the justice of the case, and the term of one month which Archibald pleads hard to get lengthened, was made into two or the necessary time. Archibald's tone towards the Lord General is anxiously respectful, nay, submissive and subject. In fact, Archibald belongs, if not by profession yet by invincible tendency to the Remonstrant Ker-and-Strachan Party; and looks daily forward to a near time

when there will be no refuge for him and the like of him, but Cromwell."

This time was not far off; and yet he continued for several years to do the best he could for the King's interest, and refused (like Argyll and Guthrie) to acknowledge the existing Government. As under it he had lost his various offices and was reduced to poverty, we need not wonder at a remark we meet with in one of the reports of the day to the following effect—"Lord Warriston is angry at everything but himself, and at that, too, sometimes." The fact is, he was now in a perplexing situation, and was drawn in different directions by his opinions and feelings and by the straitened circumstances of his family and friends. As a supporter of the monarchy, he could not be expected to approve of the republican Government now in office, and yet from his knowledge of Charles's character and policy he was not able to build much on his return. At the same time, while objecting to recent changes in Church and State which the change of Government rendered necessary, he could not ignore the fact that to all appearance this would prove permanent, and that meanwhile it secured to the nation a vast improvement in the interests both of

morality and religion. Unconsciously, perhaps, but not the less really, his theoretical opinions on national questions, held so long and so consistently, were undergoing a change, and becoming apparently less tenable. When it was proposed to send him to London on an important occasion to represent the Protesting party in the Church, with which he was in closest sympathy, he sought earnestly but unsuccessfully to induce his brethren to dispense with his services, urging as a reason that he was afraid of the temptations which might await him there, and which he might not be strong enough to resist. We are therefore prepared to learn that in July, 1657, he finally accepted his old office of Lord Clerk Register from Cromwell, who also made him one of the Commissioners for the administration of justice in Scotland, and called him to the House of Peers, where he is said to have been a frequent speaker. Cromwell's death, on the 3rd of September, 1658, left the Protectorship to his son Richard, under whom, like Milton and Marvell, Johnston continued at his post. On the restoration of the Rump Parliament in May, 1659, he was one of those chosen by ballot to form a new Council of State,

over which he frequently presided, while later still during that period of hopeless confusion and anarchy which immediately preceded the return of the King, he was appointed a member of the Committee of Safety, and appears to have become its permanent president. Can we wonder, now, that at the Restoration he should have been singled out by Charles, as a marked man for condign punishment, and that on the 14th of July, 1660, a warrant was issued for his apprehension? Having received warning of what was coming, he escaped first to Hamburg, where some months later he was prostrated with sickness, from which, owing it is said, to the misconduct of the physician who attended him, and who was even suspected of being an agent of Charles, he never fully recovered either physically or mentally.

Two years later, having ventured to France to meet his wife, he was apprehended at Rouen, and with the assent of the French Government was conveyed to London and lodged in the Tower, where he lay for six months, after which time he was transferred to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. There he was lodged on the 8th of June, having been brought up from Leith under a

guard, "on foot, bareheaded." He was so prostrate in body and mind at this time that, according to his nephew, Bishop Burnet, "it was a reproach to any Government to proceed against him. His memory was so gone that he did not know his own children." During the week which followed, and in response to an earnest petition to that effect, the Council relaxed their original instructions and permitted his friends to visit him, enjoining the keeper of the prison, however, "to wait upon the chamber where he is, and to take care of the security of his person, that he escape not in disguise or otherwise." On the 8th of July, when he appeared at the bar, he was still in such a weak condition that it was proposed to delay his sentence for a time. This, however, was resisted by Lauderdale, who urged that delay was dangerous, and succeeded in persuading the Parliament to order his execution for that day fortnight. Accordingly it was decided that he be hanged at the Cross on 22nd July, and that his head be afterwards severed from his body, and fixed on the Netherbow Port, beside that of his dear friend, James Guthrie.

On the day of his execution he seems to have recovered much of his former vigour,

and, in the words of Wodrow, like the sun at his setting, after he has been for a while under a cloud, he shone most brightly and surprisingly, and so in some measure the more sweetly. In his last speech he referred, more that might seem necessary nowadays, to the fact that under the pressure of circumstances he had accepted office under Cromwell, and had thus identified himself with the Usurper and all his works. This he acknowledged with the deepest contrition, and bitterly bewailed what seemed to him now a sinful defection. "It doth not a little trouble me, lie heavy upon my spirit and will bring me down with sorrow to the grave (though I was not alone in this offence, but had the body of the nation going before me, and the example of persons of all ranks to ensnare me), that I suffered myself, through the power of temptation, and too much fear anent the straits that my numerous family might be brought into, to be carried into so great a length of compliance in England with the late usurpers, which did much grieve the heart of the godly, and made them that sought God ashamed and confounded for my sake." And yet Burnet, who visited him both in the Tower and the Tolbooth,

affirms that "he had no regard to raising of himself and his family, though he had thirteen children: but Presbytery was to him more than all the world." In his speech, he also repelled the insinuation or assertion that he had been accessory to the death of Charles I. and to the change of government which followed. "I am free, as I shall now answer before His tribunal, from any accession by counsel or contrivance or any other way to His late Majesty's death, or to their making that change of government: and the Lord judge between me and my accusers." Carlyle calls him "a canny, lynx-eyed lawyer and austere Presbyterian zealot; full of fire, of heavy energy and gloom; in fact, a very notable character —of whom our Scotch friends might do well to give us further elucidations." He was a man of prayer as well as of action. Kirkton says that he gave more time to prayer and reading and meditation than any man he ever knew. On his way to the scaffold, he often turned to the people and asked their prayers. As he ascended the ladder with the aid of his friends, who were in deep mourning, he said: "Your prayers! Your prayers! I desire your prayers in the name of the Lord." Indeed, during the whole

time of his imprisonment, his chief desire was that he might have a gracious "through-bearing," which, he said, was only to be had through the supply of the Spirit and intercession of the saints. The thing he most feared was that he might "faint in the hour of trial," and for this cause he earnestly desired that fervent prayer should be offered to God on his behalf. This, which was very general among God's people, was not offered in vain, for the nearer the end approached, the more perfect became his tranquillity, and among his last words on the scaffold were these: "The Lord hath graciously comforted me." His life had been a most eventful one, but nothing in it became him so much as his manner of leaving it. With child-like confidence he was able to commit both himself and his family into the hands of our heavenly Father, saying, as he was often heard by those around during the last moments of his life, "Abba, Father: not my will, but Thine, be done." According to the sentence, his head was fixed on the Netherbow Port beside that of Guthrie; but soon afterwards, through the influence of his son-in-law, General Drummond, it was removed and buried beside his body in Greyfriars churchyard,

NETHERBOW PORT.

Facing page 178.

where, little more than twenty years before, he had read aloud the National Covenant, which he had assisted Henderson in preparing, and which is generally recognised as the Magna Charta of our liberties, both civil and religious.

"Sons of the fathers whose names are in story,
Like meteors that blaze in the pale autumn sky,
Yours be their motto—the watchword of glory,
'Ready, aye ready,' to conquer or die."

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

(1).

"*Patrick's Places.*"—This work is interesting, as the only thing we have from Hamilton's pen, and also as the first doctrinal statement which the Scottish Reformation called forth. It deals with such fundamental questions as the relation of the law to the gospel and of faith and works. These were the burning questions of the day, and though old and familiar to us, still call for our serious consideration. As stated by him they may appear to us too artificial and somewhat tedious, and yet to do him justice it should be remembered that the form into which they are cast was not unusual in that age, and was well adapted for academic disputation, which indeed was the object for which they were prepared and published. In his Preface to his translation of the work from Latin into English, Frith explains the name by which it is generally known thus: "for it treateth exactly," he says, "of certain *commonplaces;* which known, ye have the pith of all divinity. This treatise have I turned into the English tongue, to the profit of my nation: to whom I beseech God to give

light, that they may espy the deceitful paths of perdition, and return to the right way which leadeth unto life."

Foxe, the martyrologist, also remarks in his comments which he appended to his reprint of the "Places": "They (*i.e.*, the Papists) erroneously do seek God's favour by works of the law, not knowing that the law, in this our corrupt nature, worketh only the anger of God. They err also in this that whereas the office of the law is diverse from and contrary to the gospel, they without any difference confound the one with the other, making the gospel to be a law, and Christ to be a Moses. In the doctrines of salvation, remission and justification, either they admire the law equally with the gospel, or else, clean secluding the gospel, they teach and preach the law, so that little mention is made of the faith of Christ or none at all."

It was to meet and counteract this fatal method, that Hamilton drew attention (1) to the doctrine of the Law; (2) to the doctrine of the Gospel; and (3) to the relation between the two.

I.—The doctrine of the Law. The Law is a doctrine that biddeth good and forbiddeth evil, as the commandments do specify, which here follow:—

(1) Thou shalt worship but one God.

(2) Thou shalt make thee no image to worship.

(3) Thou shalt not swear by His name in vain.

(4) Keep the Sabbath day holy.

(5) Honour thy father and mother.

(6) Thou shalt not kill.

(7) Thou shalt not commit adultery.

(8) Thou shalt not steal.

(9) Thou shalt not bear false witness.

(10) Thou shalt not desire anything that belongeth to thy neighbour.

All these commandments are briefly comprised in these two, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, with all thy heart and soul and strength and mind; and thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."—Matthew xxii. 39, 40.

Then follow eighteen general Propositions, which are first proved from Scripture, and then occasionally confirmed by an Argument, thrown into the form of a logical syllogism.

(1) He that loveth God loveth his neighbour: 1 John iv. 20.

(2) He that loveth his neighbour as himself keepeth all the commandments of God: Matt. vii. 12; Rom. xiii. 8, 9; Gal. v. 14.

(3) He that hath faith loveth God: John xvi. 27.

(4) He that keepeth one commandment of God keepeth them all: Heb. xi. 6.

(5) He that keepeth not all the commandments of God keepeth not one of them.

(6) It is not in our power to keep any one of God's commandments.

(7) The Law was given to shew us our sin: Rom. iii. 20; vii. 7, 8.

(8) The Law biddeth us do that thing which is impossible for us.

(9) Faith is the gift of God.

(10) Faith is not in our own power.

(11) He that lacketh faith cannot please God: Heb. xi. 6.

(12) All that is done in faith pleaseth God: Psalm xxxiv. 4; Jer. v. 3.

(13) He that hath faith is just and good.

(14) He that hath faith, and believeth God cannot displease Him.

(15) Faith is a certainty or asssuredness: Heb. xi. 1; Rom. viii. 16.

(16) He that believeth the Gospel believeth God.

(17) He that believeth not the Gospel believeth not God.

(18) He that believeth the Gospel shall be saved: Mark xvi. 16.

II.—The Doctrine of the Gospel.

The Gospel is as much as to say in our tongue good tidings: like as these are—

(1) Christ is the Saviour: John iv. 42.

(2) Christ is the Saviour of the world: Luke ii. 11.

(3) Christ died for us: Rom. v. 8.

(4) Christ died for our sins: 1 Cor. xv. 3.

(5) Christ bought us with His blood: 1 Peter i. 18, 19.

Etc., etc.

III.—The Law and the Gospel contrasted, etc.:—

The Law sheweth us our sin: Rom. iii. 20.
The Gospel sheweth us a remedy for it: John i. 29.

The Law sheweth us our condemnation: Rom. vii. 9, 10.
The Gospel sheweth us our redemption: Col. i. 14.

The Law is the word of wrath: Rom. iv. 15.
The Gospel is the word of grace: Acts xx. 32.

The Law is the word of despair: Deut. xxvii. 26.
The Gospel is the word of comfort: Luke ii. 14.

The Law is the word of unrest: Rom. vii. 13.
The Gospel is the word of peace: Eph. ii. 17.

The Law saith, Pay thy debt.
The Gospel saith, Christ hath paid it.

The Law saith, Thou art a sinner; despair, and thou shalt be damned.
The Gospel saith, Thy sins are forgiven thee; be of good cheer, thou shalt be saved.

The Law saith, Make amends for thy sins.
The Gospel saith, Christ hath made this for thee.

The Law saith, The Father of heaven is angry with thee.
The Gospel saith, Christ hath pacified Him with His blood.

The Law saith, Where is thy righteousness, goodness, and satisfaction?
The Gospel saith, Christ is thy righteousness, sanctification, and redemption.

The Law saith, Thou art bound and obliged to me, to the devil, and to hell.
The Gospel saith, Christ hath delivered thee from them all.

Faith and Unbelief also contrasted.

Faith is the root of all good.
Unbelief is the root of all evil.

Faith maketh God and man friends.
Unbelief maketh God and man foes.

Faith bringeth God and man together.
Unbelief sundereth them.

All that Faith doth pleaseth God.
All that Unbelief doth displeaseth God.

Faith alone maketh a man good and righteous.
Unbelief alone maketh a man unjust and evil.

Faith maketh a man a member of Christ.
Unbelief maketh a man a member of the devil.

Faith maketh him the inheritor of heaven.
Unbelief maketh him the inheritor of hell.

Faith maketh a man the servant of God.
Unbelief maketh him the servant of the devil.

Faith sheweth us God to be a sweet Father.
Unbelief sheweth Him to be a terrible Judge.

Faith holdeth stiff by the Word of God.
Unbelief wavereth here and there.

Faith counteth and holdeth God to be true.
Unbelief Holdeth him to be false and a liar.

Faith knoweth God.
Unbelief knoweth Him not.

Faith loveth both God and his neighbour.
Unbelief loveth neither of them.

Faith alone saveth us.
Unbelief alone condemneth us.

Faith extolleth God and His deeds.
Unbelief extolleth herself and her own deeds.

Faith, Hope, and Charity compared.

Faith cometh by the Word of God.
Hope cometh by Faith.
Charity springeth from them both.

Faith believeth the Word.
Hope trusteth what is promised in the Word.
Charity doth good unto her neighbour, through the love that she hath to God, and gladness in herself.

Faith looketh to God and His Word.
Hope looketh unto His gift and reward.
Charity looketh on her neighbour's profit.

Faith receiveth God.
Hope receiveth His reward.
Charity loveth her neighbour with a glad heart, and without any respect to reward.

Faith pertaineth to God only.
Hope pertaineth to His reward.
Charity pertaineth to her neighbour.

The Doctrine of Good Works.

We should do no good works for the intent to get the inheritance of heaven or remission of sin. For whosoever believeth to get the inheritance of heaven, or the remission of sin through good works, he believeth not to get the same for Christ's sake. And they that believe not that their sins are forgiven them, and that they shall be saved for Christ's sake, believe not the

Gospel. He that believeth not the Gospel believeth not God. So it followeth that they which believe to be saved by their own works, or to get remission of their sins, believe not God, but account Him a liar, and so utterly deny him to be God.

Objection. Thou wilt say, Shall we then do no good deeds?

Answer. I say not so; but I say we should do no good deeds with the intent to get the inheritance of heaven or the remission of our sins. I condemn not good works, but I condemn a false trust in them: for all the works in which a man putteth any confidence are thereby poisoned and become evil.

Appendix (2).

It may seem strange that Guthrie, as a Commoner, was tried before the Committee of Estates, or, in other words, the Scottish Parliament. But we must remember (1) that his alleged offence was high treason, and (2) that, in Scotland, Parliament and the High Court of Justiciary were mixed up in a way unknown in England. As one has very truly remarked, "At the time of the Restoration, the Scottish Parliament did pretty much what it liked. Its position in the Constitution does not seem to have been at all clearly defined."

The charges against Guthrie were six in number: (1) His contriving, consenting to,

and exhibiting before the Committee of Estates the paper called "The Western Remonstrance." (2) His contriving, writing, and publishing the abominable pamphlet called "The Causes of God's wrath." (3) His contriving, writing and subscribing the paper called "The Humble Petition," of the 23rd of August last, when he was apprehended. (4) His convocating of the King's lieges at several times, without warrant or authority, to the disturbance of the peace of the State and of the Church. (5) His refusal, by appeal and protest presented at Perth, to acknowledge the King as judge in certain matters. (6) Some treasonable expressions alleged to have been used by him in a meeting, in 1650 or 1651.

On February 20th, 1651, his indictment being read, Guthrie delivered an excellent speech, which may be found in Wodrow's *History* (i., 164-9). Expressing the hope that the Lord Commissioner (Middleton, who was known to have a grudge against him) would "patiently and without interruption" hear him, he reminded his judges that the law of God, referred to in the indictment, is the supreme law, not only of religion, but also of righteousness, and that all laws and Acts of Parliament are to be understood and expounded in the light of our solemn vows and covenants. Describing the charge of attempting to subvert or weaken the King's authority as both unjust and unreasonable, as shown by his public testimony against the usurpation of Cromwell and the Common-

wealth, for which both he and his family had already been called to suffer, he then proceeds to deal effectively with the several counts in the libel, after which he sums up what he has said in two concluding statements. "First, that I did never purpose nor intend to speak or act anything disloyal, seditious, or treasonable against His Majesty's person, authority, or government, God is my witness; and that what I have written or acted in any of those things wherewith I am charged, hath been merely and simply from a principle of conscience, that, according to the weak measure of light given me by God, I might do my duty in my station and calling as a minister of the Gospel. Next, because conscience barely taken is not a sufficient plea, though it may extenuate, yet cannot wholly excuse, I do assert that I have founded my speeches and writings and actings in those matters on the Word of God, and on the doctrine, Confession of Faith, and laws of this Church and kingdom, upon the National Covenant of Scotland, and the Solemn League and Covenant betwixt the three kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland. If these foundations fall, I must fall with them: but if they sustain and stand in judgment, as I hope they will, I cannot acknowledge myself, neither I hope will His Majesty's Commissioner, and the honourable Court of Parliament, judge me guilty of sedition and treason, notwithstanding anything contained in this indictment."

His next appearance before Parliament was on the 11th April, when, "after the reading of his process," he delivered a second speech (Wodrow, i. 171-2), which, though it did not affect the verdict, moved several of the members to declare, as they withdrew from the House, "that they would have nothing to do with the blood of this righteous man." This speech was brought to a close with the following striking appeal. "My Lord, my conscience I cannot submit, but this old crazy body and mortal flesh I do submit, to do with it whatsoever you will, whether by death, or banishment, or imprisonment, or anything else. Only I beseech you to ponder well what profit there is in my blood. It is not the extinguishing me, or many others, that will extinguish the Covenant and work of Reformation since the year 1638. My blood, bondage, or banishment will contribute more for the propagation of those things than my life or liberty could do, though I should live many years. I wish to my Lord Commissioner his Grace and to all your Lordships the spirit of judgment, wisdom, and understanding, and the fear of the Lord, that you may judge righteous judgment, in which you may have glory, the King honour and happiness, and yourselves peace in the day of your account."

His last speech on the scaffold, a copy of which he had subscribed, and sealed in prison, to be delivered to his son when "he came to years," may also be found in

Wodrow (i. 192-5). On 15th January, 1669, his widow and daughter were permitted to return from exile to Edinburgh for a month in consequence of this boy's illness. The Scottish Parliament reversed the attainder on 22nd July, 1690, though probably not till after Willie's death, as we learn that in 1661 he was four years old, and that "he died on the eve of being licensed for the ministry."

Appendix (3).

Lest it may be thought that Presbyterian prejudice has narrowed and distorted our views on some of the matters referred to in this volume, a few sentences from Hallam's *Constitutional History of England* may be quoted with advantage. In a chapter on the constitution of Scotland (vol. ii. ch. xvii.), he is referring to the Parliament of 1641, in which some essential improvements in the civil constitution were procured. One of these was a change in the position and powers of the Lords of Articles. "These had doubtless been originally nominated by the several Estates in Parliament, solely to expedite the management of business, and relieve the entire body from attention to it. But as early as 1561 we find a practice established, that the spiritual Lords should choose the temporal, generally eight in number, who were to sit on this Committee, and conversely: the burgesses still electing

their own. To these it became usual to add some of the officers of State, and in 1617 it was established that eight of them should be on the list. Charles procured, without authority of Parliament, a further innovation in 1633. The Bishops chose eight Peers, the Peers eight Bishops; and these appointed sixteen Commissioners of shires and burghs. Thus the whole power was devolved on the Bishops, the slaves and sycophants of the Crown. The Parliament itself met only on two days, the first and last of their pretended Session, the one time in order to choose the Lords of Articles, the other to ratify what they proposed. So monstrous an anomaly could not long subsist in a high-spirited nation. This improvident assumption of power by low-born and odious men precipitated their downfall, and made the destruction of the hierarchy appear the necessary guarantee for Parliamentary independence, and the ascendant of the aristocracy. But lest the Court might, in some other form, regain this preliminary or initiative voice in legislation, which the experience of many governments has shown to be the surest method of keeping supreme authority in their hands, it was enacted in 1641 that each Estate might choose Lords of Articles or not at its discretion, but that all propositions should, in the first instance, be submitted to the whole Parliament, by whom such only as should be thought fitting might be referred to the Committee of Articles for consideration."

This Parliament, however, neglected to abolish one of the most odious engines that tyranny ever devised against public virtue, the Scots law of treason. This he proceeds to shew included the statute of "leasing-making," whose penalties were extended in 1584 to all such as should "utter untrue or slanderous speeches, to the disdain, reproach, and contempt of His Highness, His parents and progenitors, or should meddle in the affairs of His Highness or His estate." The "hearers and not reporters thereof were subjected to the same punishment." After the Restoration "thirty infamous years consummated the misfortunes and degradation of Scotland. Her factions have always been more sanguinary, her rulers more oppressive, her sense of justice and humanity less active, or at least shown less in public acts, than can be charged against England. The Parliament of 1661, influenced by wicked statesmen and lawyers, left far behind the Royalist Commons of London, and rescinded as null the entire Acts of 1641, on the absurd pretext that the late King had passed them through force. The Scots constitution fell back at once to a state little better than despotism. The Lords of Articles were revived, according to the same form of election as under Charles I. . . . The Earl of Argyll brought to the scaffold by an outrageous sentence, his son sentenced to lose his life on such a construction of the ancient law against leasing-making, as no man engaged

in political affairs could be sure to escape, the worst system of constitutional laws administered by the worst men—left no alternative but *implicit obedience or desperate rebellion.*"

That our fathers preferred the latter of these two, with all it involved of suffering for themselves and for their children, should never cease to secure for them our reverential gratitude and love. Whatever their faults and shortcomings, it ill becomes us to magnify and proclaim these to every passer by, while at the same time we overlook how much we owe to their heroic courage and patience. Rather, amid the struggles and disappointments incident to our own age, let us find in their faithful contendings and sufferings a never-failing source of inspiration and hope, believing always that the darkest hour precedes the dawn, and that "*the loss of men is not the loss of the cause.*"

Down the long roll of history will run
The story of their deeds, and speed our race
Beneath defeat more hotly to embrace
The noble cause, and trust to another sun !

THE END.